

IN THESE TIMES



Vol. 3, No. 4

Dec. 6-12, 1978

50 Cents

*STORY
OF A
BATTERED
WOMAN*

**Patricia
Evans
killed
her
husband
in
desperation.
Nobody
would
stop
him
from
beating
her.**

p.11

THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS



Wanted: mild slowdown, no recession

For those unfamiliar with the capitalist mind, it is always disconcerting to learn that some corporate executives, bank presidents, and high government officials *want* recessions to occur.

For them, recessions don't mean unemployment lines. They mean less wage pressure and the possibility of higher rates of profit. Or they mean that the dollar doesn't decline as rapidly because prices and imports don't rise as rapidly.

This fall, the recession birds began chirping in earnest. Corporations complained they were working at 85 percent of their capacity (high by current standards) and that with skilled labor scarce, it would cost them more than it was worth to expand further. Investment had to be made more attractive; costs had to go down and profit rates had to rise.

Bankers and governments in Europe holding a mere \$500 billion in American currency ("Eurodollars") began threatening to unload their dollars in earnest. With a 9.5 percent inflation rate chipping away at the dollar's value and a new European Monetary System about to crown the Mark as a viable alternative, what did they need with dollars?

By October, the U.S. was in the grip of a new kind of inflationary spiral. As inflation increased, the dollar went down; as the dollar went down, it raised import prices and also encouraged American producers to raise theirs; domestic inflation went up; as inflation went up still further, the dollar declined still further.

By the end of October, there were fears of a 1929-style financial panic. Pres. Carter's plan for wage-price guidelines failed to allay financial fears. He and Federal Reserve head G. William Miller were under pressure to take the dive.

On Nov. 1, Carter and Miller made their joint announcement. They would use \$30 billion worth of reserves to try to prop up the dollar; Carter would present a bare-bones budget in January; Miller would raise the discount rate for banks (the rate at which commercial banks can get loans from the Federal Reserve) and also

the reserve requirement (the proportion of deposits a bank has to keep in its vaults and not use for loans).

Among economists and financiers, Carter and Miller were seen as having finally bitten the bullet. They had decided, Wall Street analyst Sam I. Nakagama said, to "take" a recession.

Others simply concluded that, whether intentionally or not, Carter and Miller had opted for a recession. "Carter, knowingly or not, has acted to create a recession," economist Paul Samuelson said.

Question One: Did Carter and Miller intend to create a recession through the measures they took on Nov. 1?

American (and other Western) governments traditionally use monetary policy to hide their darkest designs. When Richard Nixon, in 1969 and again in 1973, didn't want to get blamed for causing a recession, he had his Federal Reserve chief Arthur Burns jack up interest rates and cut the money supply.

By cutting the money supply, one limits the amount of money that banks and Savings and loans (S&Ls) can loan out for home construction and small business. (Big corporations can still finance their activities from internal funds, commercial banks, bond flotations, or overseas, if necessary.) The housing market shrinks; so do related industries like steel and wood; layoffs occur, consumer demand declines; auto is affected; unemployment hits 7 percent, the GNP doesn't go up.

To do his part, the President has to hold down federal spending.

On the surface, it looked like Carter and Miller were simply following the Nixon-Burns example, but there were two indications that they were not:

1) Carter and Miller had already taken steps in June to make sure that rising interest rates would not cause an immediate collapse in the housing market. They passed a rule allowing S&Ls to issue Certificates of Deposit (CDs) at a higher interest rate than Treasury notes. This obscure move had enormous practical significance.

Ordinarily, what prevents S&Ls from offering loans is not higher interest rates, although these obviously do have some effect, but the absence of funds to loan. This happens because of a process called "disintermediation." As commercial interest rates go up, the interest rates on Treasury bills also go up. But S&Ls are prohibited from paying more than a certain interest for their customer deposits, generally around 7 percent. When persons can get more interest by buying Treasury notes, they tend to bypass S&Ls, and suddenly the S&Ls have no money to loan.

Allowing S&Ls to sell their own CDs made it possible for them to weather the first shock of the Nov. 1 measures.

2) If Carter and Miller want to cause a recession, they can rescind the regulation allowing the S&Ls the issue CDs, or they can directly cut the money supply available to both S&Ls and commercial banks.

Raising the discount rate has some effect on borrowing, especially for smaller banks, but it is mostly a symbolic gesture that indicates the Federal Reserve's intention to limit the growth of the money supply. The Federal Reserve regulates the money supply through its Open Market Committee, which meets monthly in secret. By selling Treasury notes for dollars or buying up notes with dollars, the Open Market Committee increases or decreases the dollars in circulation.

When Arthur Burns wanted a recession in 1969, he put the brakes on the money supply, lowering its average growth to only 2.5 percent. In late summer 1973, he cut money supply growth to zero.

In his testimony to the Senate Finance Committee on Nov. 16 (the same day Carter was telling White House reporters he didn't expect a substantial setback in 1979), Miller said that he intended to keep the money

supply growing at 5 to 7.5 percent in 1979, compared to 8 percent in 1978. Along with other measures, this would, he predicted, lead to a mild slowdown in economic growth (2.5 to 3 percent for 1979), but not to a recession.

On the basis of these two actions, Carter and Miller don't seem to be planning a recession. Instead, they seem intent on trying to get by with a mild slowdown and wage-price guidelines. If inflation continues upward, Carter and his inflation czar Alfred Kahn have said that they would even resort to mandatory controls before they would "take" a recession.

Question Number Two: Even if Carter and Miller don't want a recession, could they get one anyway?

Before Nov. 1, there were reasons to think that the U.S. was headed at least toward a slowdown, if not a recession:

- An October McGraw-Hill study found that businesses projected a capital spending increase of only 2 percent for 1979, which is the lowest since the 1974-75 recession.

- Consumer debt has risen to over 20 percent of consumer income. Over 15 percent used to be considered dangerous.

- Major businesses, as mentioned, are operating at 85 percent capacity, and skilled labor is scarce.

By discouraging spending still further through their Nov. 1 actions, Carter and Miller may unwittingly have tilted the U.S. toward a recession.

But a more likely scenario would be an initial slowdown, as Miller foresees, with no appreciable drop in the 9.5 percent inflation rate. This would reawaken fears about the dollar that a puny \$30 billion can do little to allay (one-quarter of the sum has already been used up).

Carter and Miller would then have to impose wage-price controls. To convince suspicious European bankers, who have little respect for such controls, they might also have to tighten the money supply.

Wage and price controls tend to discourage investment; they tend to suppress rather than eliminate wage-price pressures. It is likely that their imposition would lead to a more severe re-enactment of the price explosion and recession that occurred after Nixon rescinded his controls.

Carter (or his successor) would sooner or later have to withdraw controls to foster investment; inflation would spiral, the dollar plummet, and a recession would be on the way.

Or a recession might come close upon the imposition of controls, as business cut back still further on investment.

Question Number Three: What should a poor boy do?

Recessions always indicate the depth of capitalist irrationality: its need to destroy in order to preserve, to waste in order to save. In this case, the irrationality goes a step further, because it combines a downturn in the business cycle with a downturn in world capitalist investment and the deterioration of the trade and currency arrangements that have united the major capitalist countries since the end of World War II.

This is why the current recovery has had all the earmarks of a recession: its unemployment *low* of 5.8 percent corresponds to an unemployment *high* in the 1949, 1954, and 1971 recession years. The annual rate of growth in business investment has been half that of previous recoveries.

When one reads in the *Wall Street Journal* or *Business Week* or in the more arcane business publications that Carter and Miller should tighten the money supply further, "tough it out," or "bite the bullet," one should realize they are talking about actions that could evenuate in 12 to 15 percent unemployment and a world, not just an American, recession. ■

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IN THESE TIMES

"Revolutionary suicide," 1978

By David Moberg

GEORGETOWN, GUYANA

"Dad—I see no way out—I agree with your decision—I fear only that without you, the world may not make it to Communism."

—from a letter found on the body of Jim Jones

REVEREND JIM JONES DID NOT bring the world closer to communism in his 47 years. But with an ironic twist characteristic of so much of his life and teachings, he did bring his agricultural colony in Jonestown, Guyana, close to—perhaps several steps beyond in some ways—the most die-hard anti-communist vision of a socialist future.

"It could have been really nice," Edith Bogue, a survivor now detained in the Park Hotel in Georgetown, still says. It was precisely that kind of hope that sustained so many people, perhaps even to their death, in the face of massive evidence of Jones' folly. Some people living at Jonestown were undoubtedly seriously disturbed psychologically. Others appeared to have drifted in, perhaps seeing it as a refuge from an already hard life—having "nothing to lose," as survivors say, or attracted to something about Jim Jones or his promises. Many others, however, were idealists, humanitarians and politically dedicated socialists.

Overwhelmed by the question of how any group would choose to follow their leader into mass suicide, observers have been less inclined to ask another pressing and painful question: how could people dedicated to ideals of racial equality, human brotherhood, abolition of economic exploitation and socialism produce and support with such intensity a small society that violated and inverted so many of its principles?

End justifies the means.

It is easy to dismiss Jonestown as the work of psychotics or the consequences of religious cultism, but the dark side of Jonestown was a perverted product of the left as well. "The church was just a front for the socialist movement," Michael Prokes, a TV journalist turned People's Temple member, insisted.

Jim Jones spun out paranoid fantasies of CIA machinations. He caught himself up in the dilemma of secretly being a socialist while publicly appearing a religious crusader. He exaggerated the political oppressiveness of American society to the point that he saw no hope for change. He justified ruthless authoritarianism as "proletarian dictatorship."

He wrote off the majority of Americans as inevitably reactionary and believed anything was legitimate to pursue his goal of socialism. These political tendencies were not incidental to the deaths at Jonestown; they were directly connected with them.

"I heard Jim Jones say so many times, 'The end justifies the means,'" said Harold Cordell, 42. A follower of Jones from Indianapolis for the past 24 years, Cordell escaped death at Jonestown and left behind five children in the heap of cyanide-poisoned bodies, two of whom had pointedly refused his plea to leave Jonestown with him. "He justified lying to achieve a socialist society. You can imprison large numbers of people. You could kill thousands to make things better for others."

Revolutionary suicide.

In the end, the means included 909 "revolutionary suicides" (some of them, especially those of children, more properly called murder). Inspired by the term introduced earlier by Black Panther leader Huey Newton, and citing precedents such as the self-immolation of Buddhist monks, Jones argued increasingly after he settled in Jonestown, in the summer of 1977, that it was better to kill oneself than to



American troops relaxing after they had finished removing more than 900 bodies from Jonestown for transport back to the U.S.

be defeated by one's enemies.

Such an obsession with "being ready to die for the revolution," which had started during his years in California, was refined, in Guyana, into at least one practice suicide and numerous alerts where Jones would ask, "Who is ready to die for Jonestown?" (Accounts differ about the alerts—called either "White Night" or "White Knight"—and the number of death rehearsals.)

But, on Saturday, Nov. 18, after five people, including Congressman Leo Ryan, were killed at the nearby airstrip, there was a difference; more guns for the security forces, administration of the Flax-R-Aid to the children first, and cyanide, quickly producing agonized twists of dying bodies.

How could it have happened? Only part of the story has come out, despite the volume of print and images, and more will undoubtedly come with the books (at least four already out or under contract) and reports to come. To say that Jones was a madman is only to ask what was his madness—and that, like all insanity, it mirrored the values of the madman's culture.

Survivors claim that Jones was a socialist from his early days as a minister in Indianapolis, where he was a controversial advocate of integration. To the very end, he maintained his support of the Soviet Union as the vanguard of world revolution. But he chose to appear as a preacher.

"Telling people about socialism in America, you'd get 20 people," explained Jones aide Tim Carter, who, along with Prokes and another temple member, escaped death by being chosen to take a suitcase of money and letters to the Soviet embassy in Georgetown. "But as a preacher you could get a large audience."

Sexual favors.

Just as his fear of open advocacy of socialism was a product of the McCarthyite '50s, so was his obsession with the threat of nuclear holocaust. It contributed to his move, in 1966, to Redwood Valley, near Ukiah, Calif., where his advocacy of racial integration brought attacks from townspeople. These encounters fed his already-strong sense of doom and persecution.

But his success in attracting followers encouraged his grandiose sense of self.

As he grew more influential, it seems, he became more arrogant. "I'm the only God you'll ever know," he told followers. While preaching sexual abstinence for members, he claimed exaggerated sexual prowess and demanded sexual favors from numerous women and men in his following—often justifying it either as "therapy," as a way of keeping his followers in the movement, or as simply a cure for his prostate troubles.

Jones focused all attention on himself. He tried to maintain distrust among followers, even while he encouraged general communal warmth. He doled out secret information among various loyal associates, on a "need to know basis." He discouraged close family ties. For example, on Jonestown's last day, one couple finally revealed to their daughter their plans to leave. They had not talked earlier for fear that the children would turn them in. Ironically, two of their daughters had hatched the same escape plans and had the same fear. Yet, two others refused to leave and cursed their family's decision.

He tried to separate members from anyone on the outside of the People's Temple. He insisted on being called "Dad" or "Father" by all of the "brothers and sisters" in the giant communal family, but he also insisted—especially in Jonestown—that he was "dictator of the proletariat."

His paranoia and megalomania set upon each other in a deadly spiral. Having elevated himself so high, having shown the hubris to challenge the gods and claim perfection, Jones could tolerate no deviation from his desires, and apparently came to see the whole world revolving around him. Thus, every disagreement, every infraction of a rule, every question from outside, became part of a conspiracy to bring him down. No criticism was ever permitted.

His closed services—for members only—began to include more discipline, more embarrassment, more punishment. He picked up from Synanon and other groups ideas about "confrontation therapy." Serious "therapy" required beatings. But as the efforts to solidify the community under his control increased, so did the threat that came with anyone's departure. That was especially true since departing members had increasingly grisly tales to

Jones exaggerated the oppressiveness of American society to the point that he saw no hope for change. He wrote off the majority of Americans as reactionary and believed anything was legitimate in his pursuit of "socialism."

Continued on page 19.

ON THE NATION

TAXI DRIVERS



Photos/Steve Gascoyne

Denver cabbies vote to buy company

Yellow cab is up for sale. Someone was going to buy it. The drivers decided they shouldn't miss the chance. So they voted to offer \$500,000.

By Steve Gascoyne

YELLOW CAB IS GOING TO BE sold. Be smart and buy it for yourself." With that urging from a fellow driver in mind, the 800-member Independent Drivers' Association (IDA) of Denver voted overwhelmingly Nov. 15, to set up a driver-controlled coop and to raise \$2.9 million to purchase the company from Houston businessman Stanley Danburg.

The drivers will use about \$200,000 from their strike fund along with an anticipated \$300,000 bank loan as a down payment, according to IDA local president Steve Johnson.

IDA members have the chance to share an estimated \$1 million in dividends over the next ten years as shareholders in the company, Johnson said.

Danburg is expected to maintain ownership through April in order to get a break on capital gains taxes.

The 425-to-69 vote was "the best turnout we've ever had for a union-sponsored election," said Johnson.

The mood at the Denver headquarters of Yellow Cab, known in the business as "The Motor," ranged from cautious optimism to full-blown jubilation. Drivers expressed excitement tempered with concern that 800 cabbies—running the social spectrum from middle class family folks to alcoholics and writers—could really take control of the city's largest taxi fleet and maintain the complex business.

Johnson, a 35-year-old Harvard graduate and nine-year veteran at the wheel, said

drivers had a chance to buy the company in 1973, "but the financing just was not available." Danburg, who likes to refer to himself as Mr. Taxi, bought Yellow's Denver operation with two other men in 1976. The three later separated and Danburg became sole owner in April.

"We heard a rumor in mid-October that Yellow was for sale," Johnson said. He said the sale involves a "complicated set of properties," but that "our lawyer met with their lawyer and then we met with Danburg and he laid it all out." Drivers will get a look at the books and "the nitty gritty of the company operations" for the first time, he added.

An IDA statement announcing the vote perhaps best summed up many of the concerns of the drivers:

"Do you want a management that cares enough about drivers to fix up the drivers' room? Improve the parking lot? Keep the wash rack operating? Modernize the communications department? Streamline payoff procedures for owner-drivers? Give you the chance to study company finances in detail? And pay dividends to you? Your daily payoff will buy the company for someone. Don't miss the chance to buy it for yourself."

In an earlier, noisy general meeting Nov. 8, some 200 IDA members packed their small union hall, playing gin, guzzling beer and generally agreeing that formation of a cooperative and purchase of the cab company would be a good idea.

According to Johnson, a temporary cooperative board set up by the union will draft by-laws to be voted on by the membership. A permanent cooperative will be elected later by drivers. The board and the membership will negotiate a new driver contract prior to the expiration of their work agreement at the end of 1979.

Johnson said he expects that he and other officers in the non-affiliated union will be "learning an awful lot about business in the next several weeks."

Denver, which boasts one of the highest air pollution levels in the U.S., is a boom town. It stands as a gateway to the Rockies, not only home of some of the finest—and most expensive—skiing in the country, but also the location of vast

quantities of energy locked up in uranium, oil shale, coal and natural gas.

The cab business here is in good order now, at least from the drivers' perspective. But getting a cab in certain parts of the city after dark is still a virtual impossibility for many blacks and Chicanos.

Even though Danburg has apparently realized a substantial profit during his few years at Yellow Cab, the drivers nonetheless have left him with a desire to get out of town. The Houston businessman was plunged into a major labor dispute in late 1977 and the company imposed a lock-out against the "inside" unions. Within hours after the lock-out was imposed, the drivers set up an emergency "courtesy car" operation and used their own cars, vans and station wagons on the streets of Denver. The lock-out and ensuing strike by drivers continued for five weeks. The non-driver unions and the drivers ultimately

reached an agreement with Danburg and returned to work Oct. 28, 1977.

IDA members are independent contractors who either own their own taxis, paying a weekly fee to Yellow Cab, or day-lease drivers who lease their cabs from the company on a daily basis. The driver-owner program, initiated during Danburg's ownership, has met with mixed response from drivers, some strongly favoring the individual ownership concept and others claiming it has been nothing more than a program to put more money in Danburg's pockets.

Johnson said the basic question facing drivers is whether grizzled veterans and youngsters at the wheel can stand together—as they have in union actions so far—and "be trusted to run a company and not blow it."

Steve Gascoyne is a Denver cab driver and free-lance journalist.

Santa Cruz protests fail to stop Trident Missile facility

By Doug Vadon & Sarah Cardin

COUNTY COMMISSIONERS IN Santa Cruz, Calif., have conditionally approved construction of Lockheed's Trident II missile facility there, despite protests the arms factory would violate international rules of war.

Santa Cruz officials say the environmental impact of the proposed 4,400-acre site was their only consideration.

But about 500 protestors at the Nov. 1 planning commission hearing, organized by People for a Nuclear-Free Future (PNFF), accused them of giving tacit support to the arms race.

University of California at Santa Cruz professor Earle Reynolds said treaties such as the Hague Convention of 1907 and the United Nations Charter have the force of federal law and forbid purely offensive armaments.

"Illegal acts at the international level are indeed crimes, just as clearly as are

domestic acts of murder and theft.

"The commission should be concerned with the use of the Lockheed property for criminal purposes," Reynolds said.

Trident II is designed as a first strike weapon, aimed at knocking out Soviet missile silos.

Long standing U.S.-Soviet nuclear deterrence policies have been to target each other's cities, theoretically avoiding war due to "mutually assured destruction."

Launched from a fleet of submarines, Trident II would be accurate within a few hundred yards and capable of delivering an unanswerable first strike, PNFF charged.

Former Lockheed engineer Robert Aldridge, now a foe of the Trident and Poseidon missile systems he helped build, was gavelled down at the meeting.

A continuance of the public hearing has been slated for January.

Recent plans by Pacific Gas and Electric for a nuclear power plant in the area were scuttled after widespread opposition.

SAN FRANCISCO

Milk, Moscone murders stun city

By Randall Riserer

SAN FRANCISCO

SHOCKED AND SHAKEN BY the People's Temple bloodbath, this city has been sent reeling by the murders of Mayor George Moscone and Supervisor Harvey Milk.

Like Guyan, the Moscone-Milk killings envelop their own ironies and, in the most anguished of manners, may have illuminated a major failing of San Francisco's political system.

In the prime of their lives, both Moscone and Milk were considered by many to be political progressives. Earlier in his career, Moscone was known as a pro-labor and generally left supervisor and leader of the State Senate. But, after his election, he disappointed many of his left supporters by backing the Yerba Buena redevelopment plan south of Market Street. He also lost labor support by abandoning the municipal unions when city workers were under attack from conservative supervisors.

The only openly gay candidate elected to public office in California, Milk defended gay rights, the environment and civil liberties during a political career that began with a losing run for the Board of Supervisors in 1973. The Board was then elected at-large. In the first district election he won easily. Milk was considered the most progressive member of the Board of Supervisors. Although he broke with Moscone over downtown redevelopment issues, Milk usually allied himself with the slain mayor.

Milk often referred to himself as a "left-winger, a street person" and nearly a year ago predicted he would die from an assassin's bullet. His death is a heavy blow to gay and left forces in San Francisco because he had emerged as a leader capable of uniting various constituencies in the city. In debates with John Briggs during the recent election, Milk played a leading role in helping to defeat Brigg's anti-gay proposition.

The man who now stands accused in the shooting deaths of Moscone and Milk fits the classical definition of a "tragedy."

Former San Francisco Supervisor Dan White was described by friend and foe alike as a "nice guy" who personified the "American dream." But hours after the slayings, a shattered broken man, sat in his cell crying—a victim of pressure and political naivete.

With his election last year White had surprised most everyone except, perhaps, his constituents. White was a former policeman, a city fireman, a political novice, Vietnam combat veteran and a family man.

The 8th District that White represented exemplified his own background—white, lower middle class working families. Conservative in philosophy, hard-working and honest.

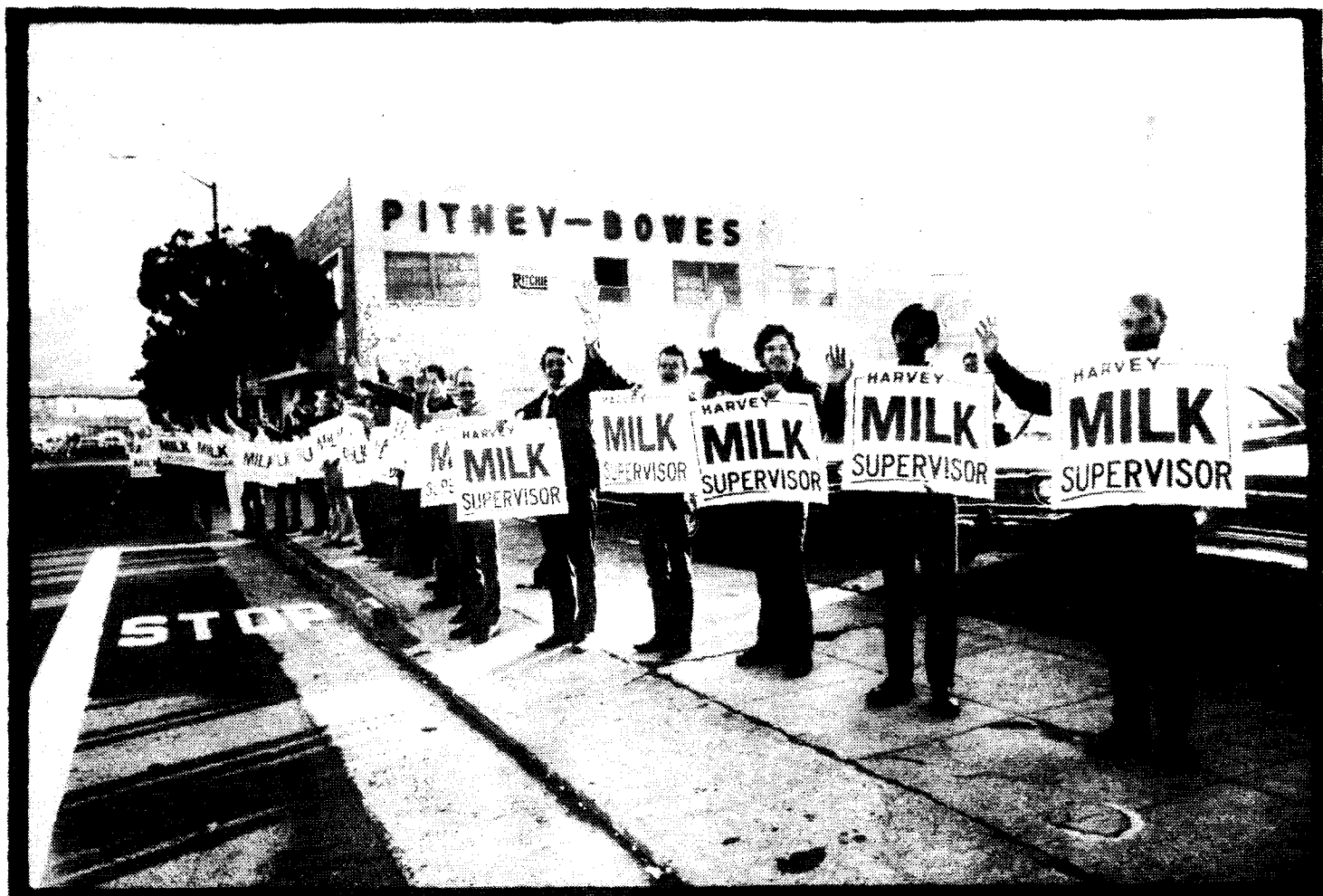
White campaigned on a platform of honest government and law and order, saying that violent crime permeated the city and that citizens should arm themselves for protection.

As a supervisor, White was consistently conservative—ultra-conservative by some standards—counting among his political friends the city's real estate interests.

But the rough and tumble politics of this city was a new world for the 32-year-old White, who was unable to adjust and reconcile his view of government with the realities.

It is said that White had trouble separating his personal and political relationships (although generally in the minority on the Board of Supervisors, he was well liked by most of his colleagues). A conservative in this liberal city, White lost more battles than he won—a frustrating experience for the "conservative populist" as he has been described.

But the crux of White's political problems—and what apparently led to the killings of the two popular political figures—



Slain San Francisco supervisor and leader of the city's gay community organized "human billboards" during his successful campaign in October 1975. Milk is fifth from the right in this picture.

Janet Fries

has brought to light the class character of the electoral system here.

In a spirit of reform, nearly two years ago, San Francisco voters enacted district elections for the Board of Supervisors—requiring that candidates be elected from the district they represented as opposed to the previous system of "at large" elections.

By reducing the geographic area represented, campaign costs were diminished enough to allow the less wealthy or well-connected to seek election as supervisor.

On Nov. 10 of this year White (who had been forced by law to leave the Fire Department in order to sit on the Board) resigned, saying that he could not support his family—a wife and infant child—on the \$800 per month Supervisor's salary.

White's complaint—and on this issue he received support from Milk—was that

electoral reform had not gone far enough—those, he said, without independent financial means could not afford to be a Supervisor.

However, five days later, White, whose friends and relatives came to his financial rescue after news of his resignation, changed his mind and withdrew his resignation.

Moscone agreed to honor White's request, but the City Attorney ruled that a resignation, once tendered, could not be withdrawn—but that Moscone could reappoint White.

White felt that, given Moscone's original intention to return the resignation letter, his reappointment was assured.

But other forces were at work. Led by Milk, his opponents launched an intensive lobbying campaign for the appoint-

ment of a more liberal supervisor. White was seemingly oblivious to the maneuvers and maintained an innocent confidence in his reinstatement.

In the early hours of Nov. 27, White learned from a reporter that he would not be returned to the Board of Supervisors. On that morning an enraged White made his last trip to City Hall where he gunned to death the two men whom he believed had double-crossed him.

A cloud of grief and disbelief hangs over this city where George Moscone and Harvey Milk lie dead and Dan White—ex-cop, former fireman and devoted father—faces the possibility of execution under California's recently enacted death penalty.

Randall Riserer is a free-lance journalist in the San Francisco Bay Area.

ABORTION

"Human life" amendment loses

By Ron Williams

CHICAGO

THE ILLINOIS SENATE LAST week narrowly defeated a resolution calling for a federal constitutional convention to consider a "human life amendment." With the measure falling two votes short of the 36 required for passage, pro-choice proponents guardedly proclaimed a victory in this round of what may be a long and bitterly fought legislative showdown.

In the face of strong lobbying efforts on both sides, Sen. Leroy Lemke (D-Chicago), the resolution's sponsor, maneuvered the item into postponed consideration which clears the way for another vote.

Following recent disclosures of abuse at some Chicago abortion clinics (ITT, Nov. 22), the political climate in this state has changed dramatically. HEW Sec. Joseph Califano, an outspoken abortion opponent, announced on Nov. 22 that an HEW audit has revealed that the Illinois Public Health Department has improperly received more than \$1 million in federal Medicaid funds for abortions.

According to the provisions of the Hyde amendment of August 1977, the federal government is prohibited from paying for

abortions unless a rigid set of criteria are met. The audit found that in most cases such criteria were not satisfied. A just-released ACLU study reports that as a result of the Hyde legislation, poor women's access to abortion services nationally

By two votes the Illinois Senate failed to pass call for an anti-abortion constitutional convention.

has virtually been eliminated, with Medicaid abortions declining by as much as 99.2 percent.

A Cook County Grand Jury is investigating the death of a Hammond, Ind., woman days after an incomplete abortion at a Chicago clinic. The U.S. Circuit Court, under pressure from the Illinois Department of Health and the Attorney General's office, moved to revoke the medical license of two doctors and ordered closed several clinics that refused to permit state inspections or access to records.

In the context of these developments,

the "con-con" resolution was brought to a vote in the state senate. Sen. Lemke also chairs a senate judiciary subcommittee that is hearing testimony on a bill sponsored by Richard M. Daley (D-Chicago), to require state licensing of all abortion counselors. Lemke and four of the five other members of the committee appointed by Daley have pro-life voting records and the proceedings have become a vehicle for promotion of right to life views.

As the hearings continued, over a dozen pro-choice groups picketed the sessions claiming the intent of the subcommittee was not what was officially announced.

Cynthia Little, Illinois coordinator of the National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL) testified, "I am shocked to see that four of the five members of the subcommittee are well-known opponents of abortion, sex education and the extension of contraceptive information and supplies."

Lois J. Lipton, Illinois ACLU staff attorney, placed much of the responsibility for abuses at some clinics on the lawmakers themselves. "The Illinois legislature, in its zeal to criminalize abortion, in direct contradiction to U.S. Supreme Court rulings, must bear responsibility for creating an atmosphere of legal dis-

Continued on page 19.

CHANGING SOUTH

Tupelo march supports United League

By Bill Drew and Jan Thal

TUPELO, MISS.

IT HAD THE MAKINGS OF A BLOODY confrontation, but the United League of North Mississippi's "national march for freedom" in this town of 37,000 went off peacefully, Nov. 25, as 1,000 blacks, whites and Latinos from more than a dozen cities spilled off buses and vans on the outskirts of town to support the eight-month old black struggle against discrimination here.

About two miles away, in the center of Tupelo, 30 robed Ku Klux Klansmen and 20 in plain clothes stood waiting, displaying an arsenal ranging from ax handles to semi-automatic rifles.

As the march assembled, United League president Skip Robinson climbed onto one of the pickup trucks at its front, "we're not here to provoke anything," he announced, standing near two rifles prominently displayed on the truck's gun racks. "But if we're attacked we have the right to defend ourselves." Applause rippled through the columns.

United League security team members with binoculars and walkie-talkies issued reports on the Klan presence and asked participants to "tighten up" the lines of four abreast.

Joined by Tupelo residents, the march swelled to 1,300, including a contingent of 30 strikers from Purnell Pride, a local poultry processing plant, who carried picket signs with demands for unionization.

Demonstrators wore T-shirts and buttons from northern struggles: the anti-Rizzo campaign in Philadelphia, police repression protests of New York City's Black United Front, anti-Bakke activities. Banners and signs identified demonstrators from Atlanta, Chicago, California, Kent State, Minnesota, Washington, D.C., Boston.

Demands against police brutality are part of a 12-point United League program "to deal with the basic problems of black and poor people in Mississippi." League chapters now exist throughout



1300 people marched on Tupelo's Main Street Nov. 25 in support of the United League's boycott of the city's white businesses. The League is demanding jobs in the downtown stores, an end to police harassment and dropping of charges against members.

the state where rapid transformation from a primarily agricultural backwater to an increasing industrialization has failed to improve conditions for blacks.

Driven off their land by manipulation of land titles, blacks face twice the unemployment rates of whites in industry and government.

Tupelo stores that refuse to hire blacks have had no black shoppers since the beginning of a boycott last spring. On Main Street the Thanksgiving weekend marchers saw the signs in Deb's Dollar Store windows which read, "Going Out of Business."

A week before the march, downtown merchants beseeched Mayor Clyde Whitaker to give in to United League demands before their Christmas sales were de-

stroyed. Whitaker met with Skip Robinson that week and promised affirmative action hiring for city jobs. But he did not speak to other demands that League spokesmen say are equally important, including dropping of charges against boycott picketers arrested for "interfering with trade."

The demonstrators got a clear view of the KKK as they turned off Main Street. Bedsheet-bedecked Klansmen stood on the Post Office lawn a block away and aimed their weapons at the march. "They were just posing for pictures," commented one photographer.

But only a week earlier the Klan left its mark in nearby Okolona where they burned down the town's only black-owned gas station, forcing its patrons to go to

boycotted white stations.

Hundreds more Tupelo blacks met the march at the courthouse square and the combined forces jammed the lawn and street. While Robinson and other League leaders spoke, the Klansmen ducked in and out of the police station across a parking lot behind the demonstration.

At sunset the march wound back across town to the community center where the thousand out-of-towners were feasted with ham, turkey, greens and black-eyed peas contributed by Tupelo families.

As the supporters boarded buses for home a local minister remarked, "No town has been shaken like this since Joshua went down to Jericho."

Bill Drew and Jan Thal are writers located in Chicago.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Marion Barry, new left mayor, breaks tradition

By Ronald Walters

ONCE DUBBED A "DAISHIKI-clad militant," newly elected Washington, D.C., mayor Marion Barry is the only black big city leader with bona fide credentials as a participant of the new left movement of the '60s.

A doctoral candidate in chemistry in the '60s, Barry turned to political activism as a founder of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) as well as taking an active role in organizations such as PRIDE, Inc., and the Free D.C. movement.

He won election to Washington's school board in 1971 and a seat on the city council in 1974, later becoming chair of the school board and of the influential city council Finance and Revenue Committee.

The September mayoral primaries saw city council chairman Sterling Tucker billed as the "change vote." There was fear that Tucker and Barry would split the opposition vote against incumbent Walter Washington. Mayor Washington went into the contest with strong support among labor, religious, business and older black, middle class voters.

Of all the polls, only the community-based Afro-American Datamatics showed Barry as the winner of the Democratic nomination. But with some shrewd help from campaign manager Ivanhoe Donald-

son, Barry gained endorsements from the city's Policemen's Union as well as the *Washington Post*. The *Post*, in a pre-primary story Sept. 6 by Leon Dash, traced Barry's political course from the militant symbol of black rage to his transformation into "a groomed and restrained city politician."

Barry narrowly won the primary election with 34 percent of the vote against Tucker's 33 percent and Washington's 31 percent.

In the general election, Barry squared off against Republican candidate Arthur Fletcher, whose major claim to political experience was as a special assistant to President Ford.

With a meager \$52,000 war chest—compared to \$424,000 for the Barry campaign—Fletcher barely put a dent in Barry's black base.

Fletcher did attract some support from religious leaders, apparently due to Barry's history of support for gay rights and gambling.

The D.C. Democratic party leaders, including Washington and Tucker, united in support of Barry, who won by a 70 percent landslide.

Barry's election signaled a break with the city's traditional political culture, and a victory over an opposition that had tried to label Barry as the "white folks' candidate" due to his popularity in certain predominantly white areas of the capital.

But in white wards where he ran well in

the primary, he suffered important voter defections: Black wards, on the other hand, united behind Barry in the general election—helping to erase his "white folks' candidate" image.

The effect of the Barry victory on city politics and public policy is difficult to assess. For all the display of black unity in the general election, there were important defections in the traditional black middle class constituency.

The break with tradition has been made. But Barry will have to overcome "old guard" skepticism, including the conservative vote against him in white precincts. He will also have to navigate class and race divisions to win support for his programs and for his reelection bid. This may be the key to his apparent caution in carrying out a campaign pledge to fire officials of Mayor Washington's administration.

Nevertheless, the new mayor's advisers may perceive that, having broken with the old establishment, he will be free to try new approaches to city management. Judging by his recent appointments, Barry seems intent on implementing his campaign pledge of an "aggressive tone" after a decade of cautious government. But he'll be limited by the nature of the district's ties to the federal government in budgetary and revenue matters.

While Congress has signalled eventual approval of a new D.C. convention center as a boost to economic growth, President Carter recently rejected federal re-

Former SNCC leader faces difficult problems as a leftist governing the nation's capital.

sponsibility for funding the District pension plan amounting to more than \$1 billion. That's a problem Barry will have to grapple with as mayor.

On a personal level, Barry has often appeared to opt for political solutions rather than standing on principle, a source of widespread dissatisfaction among low income blacks.

Yet the voter turnout of 42 percent in the general election gives reason for optimism that the 1974 Home Rule legislation passed by Congress will broaden the political participation by D.C. citizens. Barry's clearest challenge will be to avoid becoming a captive of traditional politics and to continue to "free D.C." by inaugurating a new leadership committed to increasing the level of participation, and the well-being, of those traditionally kept outside the system of city government and its benefits.

Ron Walters is a professor of political science at Howard University, Washington, D.C.

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IN THE WORLD

SOUTH AFRICA

Independence for black bantustans a curse, not cure

By our Southern Africa Correspondent

AT 5 P.M. IN ANY SOUTH AFRICAN city, you can see a stream of blacks moving towards the train station. From there, they go out to their homes in black townships, often two hours away from the whites-only areas where they work.

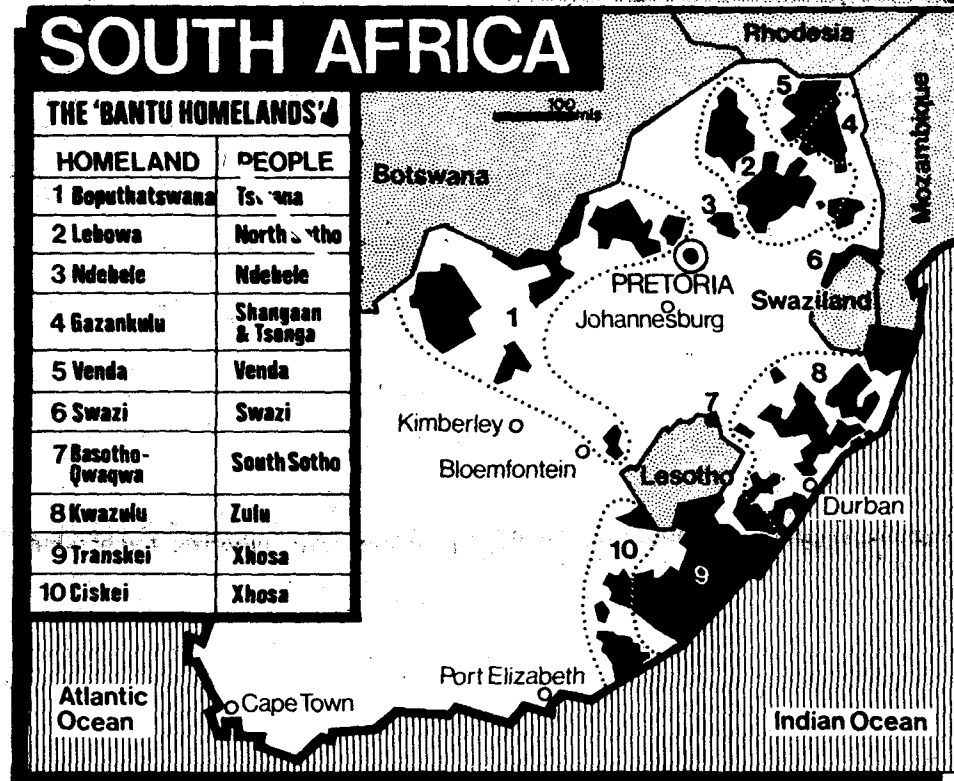
In Pretoria, South Africa's capital, the blacks are not simply going to a township. They are actually leaving South Africa for another country—though they, too, will return in the morning, ready for work at seven. They live in GaRankuwa, part of an independent country called Bophutha-Tswana; if border controls were strictly observed, the GaRankuwa railroad station would have to process 90,000 passports an hour during Pretoria's peak rush hours.

Two years ago, Pretoria's workers were still South Africans. But last December, Bophutha-Tswana's Chief Lucas Mangope took the plunge: his country became the second of South Africa's bantustans to accept independence from the rest of the Republic.

Of course, Bophutha-Tswana has had some difficulty presenting itself as an independent country. To begin with, no one outside of a few Nationalist Party officials knows exactly where its borders are; the country includes six or seven large bits and several black dots, all separated by pieces of South Africa, and no one knows which the bits are. Most of its population had never lived in Bophutha-Tswana; South Africa's white regime assigned them to the bantustan because of their tribal origin.

Bophutha-Tswana is trying hard. It is poor. Most of its gross national income is earned outside its borders, in South Africa's mines, factories and industries, and

The bantustans are dirt-poor reservations that keep South African blacks at the mercy of whites.



in cities like Pretoria: South Africa's Ministry of Foreign Affairs supplies some 70 percent of Chief Mangope's government budget.

But Bophutha-Tswana is doing its best to build up its resources; just last month, Mangope's ministers announced a new development plan, based on tourists from South Africa. The big attraction? Bophutha-Tswana, using aid from South Africa, is about to install an artificial wave-making machine in a large man-made lake, to simulate the beaches that can be found along South Africa's southern coast.

Dumping ground.

The nine bantustans—for that is what Bophutha-Tswana and Transkei remain,

KwaZulu's chief Gatsha Buthelezi

despite their so-called independence—serve as the keystones of South Africa's system of grand apartheid (pronounced apart-hate). Under the Nationalist Party's policy of separate development for the different races, blacks are assigned to the bantustans—less than 13 percent of the land, for 87 percent of South Africa's people.

Until 1976, the ultimate goal of independence for the bantustans—or homelands, as the government has taken to calling them in the last decade—remained far in the future, when white South Africa deemed its blacks capable of ruling themselves. But since the Soweto disturbances, the government has speeded up the process. Two bantustans are independent, a third is about to be, and the rest are under pressure to accept independence in the near future.

Many South Africans believe the speed-
Continued on page 9.

Infogate scandal sinks ruling whites

When James T. Kruger, South Africa's Minister of Justice, was informed last year that Steve Biko had died in detention, he told reporters, "Steve Biko's death leaves me cold."

Percy Qoboza, editor of South Africa's largest black newspaper, had a similar reaction to the scandal that has swept the top ranks of the ruling National Party—a scandal that many white South Africans say makes Watergate look like a parking offense. "Connie Mulder's resignation," Qoboza said, referring to one of the scandal's casualties, "leaves me cold."

In fact, as Qoboza was pointing out, the cabinet reshuffling that has followed revelations that National Party officials were misusing government funds will not have much impact on the position of South Africa's black majority. A black cartoon character in Qoboza's *Post* put it succinctly, the day after a commission of inquiry announced the government had funded a conservative English-language newspaper called *The Citizen*: "What I want to know is, when are they going to make me a citizen?"

Certainly the fall-out from the Information scandal has had serious repercussions in the Nationalist leadership, ending the careers of some of the most hated figures

—notably Mulder, former Minister of Plural Relations (the post-Soweto name for Bantu Affairs) who oversaw all aspects of black life. Many others, including State President J.B. Vorster and Prime Minister P.W. Botha, are implicated in a major cover-up attempt.

The scandal revolves around the Department of Information, which has over the last few years channelled huge sums of government money into various schemes designed to improve South Africa's image at home and abroad. Since most of the department's operations—including a 1974 attempt to buy the *Washington Star*—were carried out covertly, to avoid any appearance of propaganda, there was ample opportunity for the men involved to slip well over \$15 million into their own pockets.

The white press has treated the revelations of corruption and cover-up as being of overwhelming importance, pushing even the threat of economic sanctions over Namibia out of the headlines. When Judge A. Mostert, the one-man commission of inquiry, last month confirmed all the misdoings at which the English press had been hinting for over a year, even the Nationalists' Afrikaans-language newspaper began to criticize their leaders.

White rationalizations for minority rule have always stressed the moral purity of South Africa's white rulers; the Afrikaans' Dutch Reformed Church has enormous power in the government, which regulates morality as well as political activity. Temporarily at least, the Information Department scandal has pulled the bottom out of white complacency, as the upper echelons of the Nationalists now look at least as corrupt as those of any other African government.

But the upset will probably prove temporary. Prime Minister Botha has fired Mostert, ending his investigation, and Botha's new commission of inquiry seems likely to produce a complete whitewash.

There appear to be numerous other juicy scandals bubbling just under the National Party's surface, including hints that a South African professor and his wife were brutally murdered before they could reveal that government officials had been smuggling money out of the country.

But already the government has begun to blame the entire episode on the traditionally liberal English press, calling the reporters who followed the story unpatriotic and obstreperous, and threatening the papers with reprisals. Since a crack-



C.P. Mulder

down last year removed the last anti-apartheid organizations, the English press has been the main source of internal criticism, and has become the government's favorite scapegoat for any disturbances.

On the whole, Infogate seems to be only a squabble among South Africa's whites, widening splits within the National Party and between the government and the English press. The only other question is whether or not Mulder's replacement in Plural Relations, Piet Koornhof—who is considered slightly liberal for a Nationalist—will make any significant improvements, and that appears unlikely. It will take more than a little high-level corruption, it seems, to make South African blacks citizens of their own country. ■

—Our Southern Africa correspondent

South African bantustans

Continued from page 8.

up is the result of a government decision to push separate development as far as it can, so that the nation's blacks will be fragmented and unable to claim any hold on the country's wealth.

Ever since the Nationalists came into power in 1948, South African blacks have objected to the bantustan policy. None of the bantustans is a viable economic unit; they contain no natural resources, no industry, and little arable land. In 1976, the nine bantustans together had an average annual per capita domestic product of R64: about \$6 a month. If you exclude white residents of the bantustans, the figure dropped to a monthly product worth \$5 per capita. The people who live on the bantustans survive on almost nothing—unless a member of their family has obtained a pass to work in South Africa, and can send wages back to them.

Poor islands in one of the world's richest countries, the bantustans were created as a dumping ground for unwanted laborers, a method of population control and a way of defusing black protest. South Africa's infamous pass laws give it the right to send any black back to the bantustan to which he or she has been assigned; the unemployed, the blacks who are too old or too young to work, and the politically active can be removed from white areas without appeal—sent back to starve, or to serve as a reserve of cheap labor for white South Africa.

Tribal opportunists.

The men who have accepted independence for their bantustans are fairly unsavory characters, and are widely hated by South African blacks. Because the bantustans are supposed to be organized along tribal lines, the government appointed chiefs, claiming to follow traditional patterns. In fact, the tribal base is ridiculous in itself as the bantustan system, since over a third of South Africa's blacks live in urban areas, and many are about as connected to their tribes as an Italian-American is linked to the village his grandfather came from.

Chief Mangope, like Chief Kaiser Mantanzima in Transkei, is a ruthless opportunist; in both BophuthaTswana and Transkei, the opposition has been disbanded or jailed, and government officials are free to use their positions for personal gain. In both countries, too, about half the legislature is directly appointed by the chief, making a farce of the democratic process in the only parts of South Africa where blacks can vote for their national government.

A similar situation is developing in Venda, which is slated for independence early next year. Just after the pre-independence elections last month, Chief Patrick Mphahlele detained more than 50 members of the opposition, without charges or trials. The opposition had just gained 31 of the 42 seats. Mphahlele is a government-appointed chief, but apparently he felt that margin was too close for comfort.

Pretoria seems to have agreed. The Venda detainees were picked up by South African police, and held in South African cells. And throughout the uproar that followed the jailings, South African government officials continued to describe Mphahlele's move towards independence as "the kind of democratic, peaceful change that should serve as an example for the rest of black Africa."

Holding out against independence.

One bantustan leader, KwaZulu's Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, has stood firmly against independence, and since 1976, he has begun to suffer for it. He has said repeatedly that he will not sell his people's birthright—he will not let the Zulus cut themselves off from the rest of their country.

Until recently, Pretoria allowed Buthelezi to speak freely, pointing to him as an example of South Africa's free speech.

But for the last two years, it has put increasing pressure on him to accept the kind of independence given Transkei and BophuthaTswana. The subsidy that Pretoria gives Buthelezi, who governs the most populous of the bantustans, is substantially smaller than that given to any other bantustan leader; last year, KwaZulu's entire subsidy was barely three-fourths the amount it needs to run its school system, which is only one of the four departments the subsidy theoretically covers.

Buthelezi has been forced to levy additional taxes on his people; not surprisingly, they are beginning to grumble. There are indications that Buthelezi will be forced to accept independence or be thrown out by his own people—a situation that his more radical critics have predicted since he accepted the bantustan post.

Along with the push to speed up independence has come a redoubled effort by South Africa's regime to remove blacks living illegally in white areas. The well-publicized raids on Crossroads, a squatter township outside Capetown, have been repeated in other townships throughout South Africa, as policemen sweep through whole cities of corrugated iron and cardboard houses, looking for blacks who are not legally employed. Crossroads was remarkable only because its inhabitants organized resistance. (Incidentally, Crossroads also showed up the absurdity of the tribal basis of the bantustans: when Transkei refused to accept those Crossroads residents assigned to live there, the South African government simply reassigned them to Ciskei, the homeland for another, though related, tribe.)

Ten children die each day.

Dawn "crime swoops," in which the police and army block off a black township and move through it checking passes, have also become commonplace in the last year; since 1976, it has become too dangerous for police to patrol the townships regularly, and the swoops are the only kind of police protection offered urban blacks. But the swoops only catch one kind of criminal, the pass offender. Where once blacks without the proper permit might, with luck, hope to avoid arrest, now they are almost inevitably faced with "endorsement" back to unemployment on the bantustans.

The pass raids and crime swoops seem to have been prompted by a combination of factors. In addition to increased black unrest over issues like the system of bantustan education, black unemployment has reached an all-time high. No official figures exist, but estimates range as high as 16 percent in Johannesburg to 40 percent in the bantustans. As a leader of Black Sash, an organization of liberal whites, said recently, "Black unemployment is being pushed out to the homelands," where the regime need not concern itself with unemployment relief or medical aid, where the only work is subsistence-level agriculture, and where any political unrest will not disturb the structure of apartheid.

Blacks who are sent back to the bantustans may spend years in resettlement camps set up by the South African government, waiting to be sent somewhere else. Conditions in Thornhill, in Ciskei, are probably typical. Last year, the only doctor working for the camp's 10,000 residents revealed that ten children a day were dying of malnutrition and complications. She was transferred. This year, a typhoid epidemic broke out at Thornhill; the medical facilities were enlarged to meet the emergency, and the camp now boasts a six-bed hospital and a full-time nurse.

Everyone from South Africans to the Organization of African Unity to the United Nations has long recognized that the policy of separate development has meant development for South Africa's whites and underdevelopment for its blacks. But as the regime speeds up the independence process, and as more passes are exchanged for passports, more of South Africa's blacks will find themselves in positions similar to that of BophuthaTswana's citizens: migrant workers in a foreign state, aliens who have no claim over their country's wealth or political process, laboring for white South Africa and living in poverty and powerlessness. ■

CANADA

Dudley Do-right done did wrong



By Doug Smith

WINNIPEG

FEW CANADIAN ORGANIZATIONS are as well known as the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP). Their boy scout hats and scarlet tunics have for years been a Canadian tourist symbol. For the past year, however, Canadians have been treated to a continuous revelation of criminal acts by the plainclothes security service of the force.

It started when a former Mountie, on trial for trying to blow up the home of a supermarket executive, admitted that the police had been involved in the burglary of the offices of *Agence Presse Libre du Quebec*, a leftist community news service. The officers who authorized the break-in were found guilty last summer but retained their positions with the RCMP. The Quebec provincial government set up a commission of inquiry into the activities of the police. In order to avoid embarrassment, the federal Liberal government used the courts to shut down the provincial inquiry and appointed its own inquiry headed by a former Liberal party official.

Despite the committee's composition, last winter saw a virtual flood of stories concerning the clandestine activities of the RCMP. While the police claim they have been combatting terrorism, most of their activities have been made against social democrat and non-violent left groups.

The most surprising of these activities is the burglary of the offices of the separatist *Parti Quebecois* (PQ) in 1973. The Mounties stole computer tapes containing the names of party members and financial information on the party. In 1976 the PQ became the provincial government in Quebec under Rene Levesque. When Levesque was told of the break-in, he said he had always known those "RCMP jerks" had been watching the party.

The RCMP said they were afraid the party had been infiltrated by extremists.

But at the hearings another reason for the break-in emerged. It seems the RCMP wanted to know which members of the federal civil service had separatist sympathies.

When in 1971 separatist theorist Pierre Vallieres urged people to support the PQ and to forego violent tactics, the RCMP sent out a fake communique denouncing Vallieres. The communique, which was supposed to have come from a separatist cell called "La Minerve," stressed the idea that "revolution by violence" is the only way to liberate "us from the capitalist hordes." A lawyer for the RCMP recently said he was trying to protect "the public's right not to know" when he prohibited discussion of whether or not senior officials of the RCMP had authorized the communiques.

The New Democratic Party was also the subject of intense scrutiny as well. In

1972 the Mounties infiltrated the government of British Columbia to see if Trotskyists held important positions in David Barrett's government. Federal NDP party leader Ed Broadbent has charged that the party office in Ottawa was broken into in 1972.

The Canadian Labour Congress has charged that the RCMP has infiltrated trade unions and passed information that they have obtained to corporations that the unions are dealing with. The Congress also charged the Mounties with engaging in disruptive tactics during strikes.

The Mounties have also been opening mail for the past 20 years in violation of the post office act. When this became public, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau commented that it did not bother him if the police had been reading his mail. He said if it was illegal for the police to open private mail, there was only one thing to be done—change the law.

This has generally been the government's attitude to the whole affair. At first they said the press break-in was an isolated affair. When it became apparent that this was anything but the case the government attitude has been that there is nothing wrong with what has been happening. Again and again cabinet ministers and senior police officers justify their actions by saying that the law may have been "technically broken" but higher interests were served.

The government justified its mail opening operation by saying that a Japanese Red Army terrorist had been arrested through information obtained in mail openings. It has since been determined that the man was arrested on the strength of information obtained through legal wiretaps, rather than through the mail. (Although the matter of the legality of wiretapping is another touchy issue.)

The Mounties have also conducted over 400 illegal entries or "fishing trips," as they call them, to see if they can get information on groups suspected of being a threat to the national security. They have also bugged student assembly rooms in various Canadian universities. The Mounties have even been accused of bugging the conversations of Warren Allmand, when he was the minister in charge of the force. Many force members felt that Allmand, who was instrumental in abolishing the death penalty in Canada, was a communist.

At first the Mountie affair made daily headlines for months as the opposition parties continually flung new charges and revelations at the Liberals, the most dramatic being the announcement by a Conservative MP that a bugging device had just been found in his office. But the Liberals have managed to play on the sympathies of a public that still holds the RCMP in high regard. The NDP are now soft-pedalling the issue for fear of being thought of as "pinkos."

Doug Smith is Prairie Bureau Chief for Canadian UMW Press.

BRITAIN

Labour government plays fool in secrets trial

By Steve Weissman

LONDON

TWO BRITISH JOURNALISTS and a former corporal in Army Signals Intelligence were convicted in mid-November of conducting an unauthorized interview in violation of the hard-hitting Official Secrets Act, and were then set free with an unexpectedly light slap on the wrist and a warning from the judge that Britain "will not tolerate defectors and whistle-blowers from our intelligence services."

This surprise ending rings down the curtain on nearly two years of partly closed-court proceedings, an earlier mistrial in September, and a spectacular 34-day trial, in which Britain's tight-lipped Labour government initially tried to nail the defendants with more serious Secrets Act charges normally used only against spies and carrying prison sentences of up to 14 years.

The dropping of the "spy charges" midway through the trial and the token sentences at the end are widely seen here as a stinging set-back for the intelligence services and the government, which has long promised to reform the present "blunderbuss" of an Official Secrets Act.

Official overkill.

In the trial, the 11-person jury took an unprecedented 68 hours to return verdicts of guilty on catch-all charges of illegal receipt of official information against the two journalists—free-lance scientific writer Duncan Campbell, 26, and reporter Crispin Aubrey, 32, of the London entertainment weekly *Time Out*. The verdict against ex-corporal John Berry, 34, came on direct instructions from Justice William Mars-Jones, who ruled that Berry had offered no defense to the air-tight charge of illegally communicating information gained during his military service in Signals Intelligence.

Normally regarded as a hard-boiled hanging judge, Mars-Jones then gave Berry a suspended 6-month sentence and the journalists conditional discharges. He also imposed costs of some 17,500 pounds (\$34,000), which will be paid by *Time Out* and the Aubrey-Berry-Campbell (ABC) Defense Committee. Mars-Jones had earlier in the trial persuaded Attorney General Sam Silkin to drop the "spy charges" as "oppressive" and "not apt."

The government's attempted overkill followed from last year's deportation of former CIA whistle-blower Philip Agee and the young American journalist Mark Hosenball. An investigative reporter at

Time Out and then the *London Evening Standard*, Hosenball had co-authored with Campbell an expose of the electronic eavesdropping of the U.S. National Security Agency (NSA) and the British Signals Intelligence group (SIGINT), General Communications Headquarters (GCHQ). It was—and is—widely believed that this article was the key to Hosenball's still officially unexplained deportation. Early in February 1977 the possible connection provoked a crisis of conscience for the idealistic ex-corporal, John Berry. A former Signals Intelligence analyst with GCHQ and now a professional youth worker, Berry contacted the Agee-Hosenball Defense Committee and offered to throw whatever light he could on the background to the then-pending deportations.

Big secret.

The two journalists—Aubrey and Campbell—rushed to Berry's North London flat, and only minutes after they had completed a three-hour interview, a squad of plain-clothes police from Scotland Yard's Special Branch arrested the three men—apparently on information gleaned from mail surveillance and telephone tapping.

The police also seized Aubrey's tape-recording of the session, which became the key evidence against Berry and the journalists.

No one in the press or public knows for sure what information Berry revealed. The government prosecutors refused to play the tell-tale tape through in open court, and the Justice permitted them to play it *in camera* without press or public present.

But the big secret seems to be that there really weren't any secrets at all. A recognized expert on Signals Intelligence, the youthful Campbell testified that he already knew most of what Berry told him. And the defense lawyers introduced literally hundreds of pages of excerpts from semi-official military journals, from British and foreign newspapers and magazines and from the proceedings of the Canadian Parliament and the U.S. Senate investigations of the CIA and NSA—all to prove that the alleged SIGINT secrets on the tape were already anything but secret.

The mysterious Colonel B.

Super-secrecy backfired even worse when the government attempted to introduce secret witnesses, notably the former chief of Army Signals Intelligence, the now famous "Colonel B." Permitted by the Magistrate at the initial committal hearing last November to testify without giving his name in open court, Col. B appeared as the government's key witness, using his authority and the aura of secrecy to hammer home the case that Berry's information was secret and of potential danger to British security.

But Col. B gave away clues to his own identity, soon confirmed in the Signal Corps magazine *Wire*, and two radical papers—*Peace News* and *The Leveller*—openly challenged the government and the courts by publishing the name for all to see. The National Union of Journalists then repeated the sin in their monthly newspaper, followed by four Labour MPs in the House of Commons, and soon Col. Hugh A. Johnstone was the world's best-known secret witness.

The naming of Col. B. proved the turning point in the entire official secrets case. *Peace News*, the *Leveller*, and the journalists union were themselves prosecuted and convicted of contempt of court. But everyone was laughing so hard that the government and their star witness, now plain Col. Johnstone, found it difficult to convince even themselves that national security was really at stake.

The government then suffered a second set-back during the mistrial in September, when it was publicly revealed that the prosecution had been granted the unheard-of right to screen the prospective jurors "for loyalty." As it happened, three of the screened jurors had themselves been subject to the Official Secrets Act, including the highly active jury foreman, who was a former commando in Britain's Green Berets, the largely undercover Special Air Service.

Now, with the costly new trial completed and the ABC defendants set free, the government faces a new flare-up in the press and Parliament over why they agreed to prosecute the case, why they brought the initial "spy charges" and what they intend to do about the long-promised reform of the Official Secrets Act, especially as it applies to journalists.

But for all the fury in the coming weeks, no one here seriously expects the lame-duck Parliament to find the consensus needed to change the law. And many reformers believe it better not to try, since any new law would only replace the widely discredited "blunderbuss" with a streamlined new "Armalite."

Steve Weissman is now a free-lance journalist in London.



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Death in the Family



Patricia Evans killed Johnny Evans after he beat her—by the end almost daily—for four years. She killed him after he came at her with guns and knives, broomsticks and burning cigarettes. She killed him after he dangled her from a 14-story window; after he fired a pistol at her; after he dragged their four children out of bed and forced them to watch while he beat her.

*TEXT BY RONNIE SCHEIER
PHOTOGRAPHS BY MEG GERKEN*

Husbands murder wives more often than wives murder husbands. But nearly half the women in Cook County jail are accused of killing men who have beaten them.

JOHNNY KEPT ON HARASSING ME and bugging me," Pat recalled. "He couldn't stand it because I wouldn't argue back at him on the phone. He'd say, 'Patricia, you're too calm.' I said, 'Baby, you're on the other end of the phone; what can you do to me on the phone?'"

"Then, on Sept. 27, 1975, seven months after we had broken up, Johnny came up to the house with the kids and the dog. I thought he was gonna be peaceful."

"He asked me for some food for the dog. Then he asked me could he see some pictures we had taken. There was a picture of a fellow in there that I had met. He wanted to know who he was, wasn't that my nigger? I told him, 'Ain't none of your business who it is. I don't bother you about your little girlfriends, do I?'"

"Johnny called me all kinds of names again and hit me. I got to swinging and we was dukin'."

"His friend Sherman Thompson and his sister's old man Jerry Bangman were there. Jerry got up and went to the bathroom; Sherman left the house. Before they left I said: 'Hey, y'all get this man, get him and take him out of here.' They just kept on going."

"Johnny picked up a dagger off the bookshelf that he had made when he was at Washburn Trade School for welding. By that time Sherman walked back in the door. He kept straight on through the house and went to the bathroom. Here Johnny and I was tussling over this dagger and Sherman and Jerry walked right on back out of the house."

"Jerry, Sherman, please come get Johnny! Please come and get him!" Pat yelled. They continued on out the door."

"I got the dagger away from Johnny," Pat went on. "I ran; as soon as I threw it I ran back to the room to get the gun. He was right there behind me and he got the gun away from me."

"The house was full of kids. My sister's kids, five or six other little kids on the porch. And they were standing there; they were just looking. The dog was looking. I mean everybody was at a standstill."

"Johnny hit me in the head with the gun and laid my head wide open. After he hit me he unloaded the gun and said, 'Tricia, I'll give you the goddamn gun as soon as I walk out your MFing house.'"

"Johnny walked out the door. I was right behind him. He gave me the gun; he gave it back to me. I picked up the same bullets that he had dropped out of the gun on the living room floor, and I followed him out the house. As I followed him out I was loading the gun. There was this little teen-age girl that lived on the porch. She kept telling me, 'Don't, Pat, don't go down there!' I told her, 'Everything's gonna be all right, just go on back.' I had no idea I was gonna shoot Johnny."

"I followed him down the stairs. I saw his hand down between the bannisters. By the time I caught up to the floor where Johnny was, he was coming back up the stairs. He was coming back up three and four stairs at a time. I looked at him and I cried, 'Oh my god, he's coming back up the stairs,' and I fired the gun. I reached out and fired the gun."

"I knew I hit Johnny, 'cause I saw his blood shooting out his mouth. Everything started going in slow motion: the smoke from the gun and me going back up the stairs. It seemed like I wasn't never gonna get back upstairs. When I got back upstairs I was mad and bleeding and I was picking up paper off the porch."

FORTY PERCENT OF THE WOMEN in Cook County, Illinois, Women's Detention Unit are there because they are accused of killing men who had beaten them, according to a study by Superin-

tendant Claudia McCormick. That doesn't mean wives steeped in women's liberation are embarked on a murderous rampage against their husbands, as a top Chicago police official recently implied. FBI figures indicate that the number of homicides by women against their spouses has barely changed since such data was first kept. In fact, men who murder their wives slightly outnumber wives who kill their husbands—54 percent to 46 percent in 1975.

What it does mean is that numbers of women crippled by conditioning and trapped by social indifference are striking out in a desperate way. Fear; lack of job skills; dependent children; belief that the husband will reform; the stigma of divorce and the belief that it is the woman's responsibility to keep the marriage together; lack of support from family and friends and inadequate protection by police, courts and other social institutions—all these keep battered women in relationships they should long ago have abandoned.

Why do they stay? "I was ashamed," signed Pat, a slight, handsome 31-year-old woman. "I was ashamed that I cared that much about that man to even let myself stay in that bullcrap that long. But by that time it was not so much the caring for him that was in me; it was the fear that was there. I was too scared to go. Because I knew that there wasn't nowhere for me to go. I knew he'd look for me. The only place I could go was to leave the state and I didn't have no money to leave no state with no babies."

Erin Pizze, author of *Scream Quietly or the Neighbors Will Hear*, explains, "Very few people understand this kind of fear. It is the fear of knowing that someone is searching for you and will beat you when he finds you. In the mind of someone who has been badly beaten, this fear blots out all reason. The man seems to be omnipotent."

This is the story of a woman who killed the man she loved, the man she says she still loves. Pat Evans is a black, working class woman. But woman abuse and its tragic effects are not only problems of the black community or of the working class. Wife beating takes place in tenements and high rises, garden apartments and split-level suburban homes. It is a problem that cuts across race and class lines. It is a problem that will remain until men are made to realize that wives are not fair game. Many of us have heard the shocking statistics and thoughtful observations of professionals. It is easy to cluck over such information and then file it safely away. It is less easy to hear Pat's brutal story and not be moved to action.

PAT DOCKERY AND JOHNNY AT DICKERY AND JOHNNY Evans grew up on the South Side of Chicago. They were childhood sweethearts, Pat a spunky teen-ager with a stable family life and Johnny a street-wise youth who ran with the Egyptian Cobras gang and dreaded going home. "Johnny's stepfather would beat up his wife and the kids, too, every weekend," Pat remembers. "Johnny's grandmother told me that one time he threw the boy down a flight of stairs and threw a little tricycle down behind him; broke his collarbone.... These are the kind of things that Johnny lived through, and I'm surprised that he lasted as long as he did."

Johnny enlisted in the Army at 17 to get away from home. He was discharged shortly after being hit by a sniper bullet in Panama. He found that although the injury had healed, employers would not hire him. "The CTA (Chicago Transit Authority) wouldn't hire him because they thought sometime when he was driving the arm might give out, and no steel mill would hire him. Nobody would hire him with that arm," Pat said.

Johnny, Pat and their two children shared a room in an apartment rented by Johnny's sister. Pat remembers: "I was paying my sister-in-law \$30 a week and she wouldn't let me come out of the room to go in the front room to look at TV. I was paying her so much I didn't hardly have no money to buy food. I'd feed Johnny, Juan and Danny the bulk of the food and I'd drink the juice off the food. Living that first year, there wasn't any

physical abuse, but the mental part of it was just as tough."

Johnny was drinking heavily and soon the beatings started. He would force Pat to drink with him and before long she had a drinking problem, too. The morning after the first beating Johnny did not remember what he had done. "I opened my hands and showed him all the cuts. Then I turned around and showed him my back. I had knots all down my hips and my thighs and legs," Pat said. "He looked at me and said, 'Tricia, did I do that?' I just laughed at him. 'Yeah, Johnny, you did.' The next thing I knew he was hugging me and kissing me and, oh, he's so sorry."

The beatings became more frequent and more brutal. Pat would almost never know when one was coming. She was pregnant when two-year-old Juan came to her one afternoon with a burn on his chest.

"Baby, what happened?" Pat asked.

"Daddy burned me," came the reply.

"Daddy burned you?"

"Yeah, Daddy burned me with a cigarette."

"Johnny was good and drunk by this time," Pat recalls. "I said to him, 'Johnny, did you know you burned the baby?' He said, 'What you mean? You talk like I burned the baby on purpose. Bitch, I'll kick you ass.' The next thing I know Johnny slammed me and I hit the floor. I said, 'I know I'm gonna lose this baby now.' Johnny straddled me on the floor and he was sitting on my stomach, beating me. All I could do was lay there and holler."

After he finished, Johnny took Pat to Englewood Hospital. She was seen by a young male resident in the emergency room.

"Well, what happened?" the doctor asked, scanning her bruised body.

"My husband beat me up," Pat answered.

"Why did your husband beat you up? What did you do?" the doctor snapped.

"I didn't do anything but ask him why did he burn my son in his chest."

"You mean to tell me all you did was ask him why he burned the child and he beat you up?" the doctor asked skeptically.

"Yeah, just as simple as that."

"Are you sure? How many drinks have you had today?"

"What does that have to do with me being hurt?"

"Well, I'm quite sure you had to do something," he sniffed.

"I clammed up in a shell," Pat remembers. "I got scared and I thought; just because I've had something to drink the man is gonna right off the top assume I've done something to instigate my husband beating up on me! Then the doctor told me to come back in a couple of days if I still had a lot of pain. I didn't go back. I wasn't going back down there."

Each time Pat went to the hospital and was honest about the source of her injuries she met with a similar response. After a while, she avoided going to the hospital and when the injuries were so bad she could not avoid it she would lie about their origin.

"It made me feel like dirt," she said, "like this was what was supposed to happen to me. Like they was saying you ain't supposed to run to the hospital every time you husband jumps on you; it's all in your mind. Out of shame of telling them what done happened to me and out of fear of what they would say to me, I just suffered."

Pat began calling the police after the fifth or sixth beating. "They would come and tell me that there wasn't nothing they could do if I didn't press charges. But I knew if they had locked Johnny up that as soon as he made bond he was coming right straight to me."

There's been times when I was drinking pretty heavy the police would tell me, 'Probably if you wasn't gettin' drunk all the time your old man wouldn't be beatin' up on you.' I'd say, 'Even if I didn't do anything to get a whoopin'? They'd say, 'Gettin' drunk is enough to make him whoop on you.' Now that don't sound right!"

"And then there were the times when, after I quit drinking, the police would

ne in and say, 'Well, lady there ain't thin' we can do if the man ain't here.' t Johnny would leave after he beat me 'cause he knew I was gonna call the lico. Sometimes they'd come in with sar sarcastic remarks, like, 'Well, why n't you put him out?' Put him out? You l me how can I put somebody out and being beat up! Or, 'Well, why you ep on lettin' him beat up on you?' I'd , 'I'm not lettin' the man beat up on !' 'Well, why don't you pack up and ve?' Pack up and leave with four babies d no money? Where am I gonna go?" Johnny took LSD one day, forcing Pat down some, too. "I seen him act the ol, but never like this," she said. "He s beating on the kids, beating on me. hit Tina so hard she hit her head on floor. He grabbed Juan and Danny their arms, an arm apiece, and he was ating them in the chest. He even bbed the baby and swung him around house. I was hitting on him trying to ke him leave them alone. He said, 'I'll all of us up in here this day.' The kids re hollering.

'Johnny had a butcher knife. I don't ow how he got that butcher knife; a of times he got weapons I don't know ore he got them from. Johnny grabbed h one of them babies by their hair and ked them off the floor and threw them he room, put the butcher knife to their oats. I was so scared, I couldn't do hing but stand there and hope that he n't cut them.

'Finally, he left the house and I called police. I said, 'Please help me.' But police left because he wasn't there. I led them back and told them a second ie what had happened. The second set of ice came and took me to the hospital.

"When I came back home Johnny was ore. He beat me again and they had to h me back to the hospital. He called y girlfriend and her husband and they me to the hospital to get us. My girl-end said, 'Pat, you sure you want to back home?' I said, 'I got to go back me 'cause the kids are there.'

"When I got home, Johnny was quiet. said, 'Tricia, I need some help.' I said, 'now, Johnny, I know you need help.' said, 'Tricia, if you call the police and l them to come take me in I'll go.'"

The police took Johnny to Malcolm X ental Health Center. He lied to the doc-s and after two weeks of tests was re-sed. The abuse began all over again. t filed for a divorce and they were se-ated about a month when Johnny forced way into the house and insisted that was going to live there until the divorce s final.

"Ah, baby, ain't nothin' shakin'," Pat id. Johnny punched her in the head and ew minutes later he fired a gun at her. ie sneaked out of the house and called e police, who, now that a gun was inv-ved, were willing to track Johnny down id arrest him. "I couldn't stand it no ore," Pat explained. "I said, he's just nna have to come back and whoop me, ause I'm gonna have him locked up this me, hook or crook."

Johnny was charged with aggravated attery and held for 45 days. Pat's op-mism that his brutality finally would be opped soon turned to frustration. "They ept continuing the case and continuing ie case until by the time I went back own there the stitches was out of my ad, all the bruises were cleared up, and had no case. The state's attorney never uggested I take pictures of the bruises.

"Finally, the day comes they gonna ear the case. Johnny lied so fantastic he ould have won the Academy Award. he judge dismissed the case. He told ohnny that he best stay away from me ause I had him locked up once and I robably wouldn't hesitate to do it again."

When the judge finished his remarks, at turned to the assistant state's attor-y who had prosecuted the case.

"The case is over," he said.

"Over? What you mean, over?" she ked in disbelief.

"The case has been dismissed."

"But it can't be. You don't understand. s soon as this man comes out on the eet he's gonna come after me!"

The assistant state's attorney turned d walked out of the courtroom without bly.

OF THE SCORES OF BATTERED women who walk into court-rooms each day in Chicago, a handful are accompanied by advocates from the Legal Center for Battered Women. These women are volunteers, some law students, who are there to provide support and insure that the legal rights of their clients are not abridged. The Legal Center, operating since October 1977, as a project of the Legal Assistance Foundation of Chicago, is the only legal office in the country set up to serve battered women. It provides attorneys for divorces, court orders and other civil matters and makes advocates available to women with cases in criminal court. Some 2,000 women have sought help at the Center.

The all-women staff, which includes only two full-time attorneys, is headed by Candace Wayne, a 29-year-old graduate of DePaul Law School. She is dedicated, aggressive and determined to change the way women abuse cases are handled. Center staff members have met with representatives of the Police Department, Municipal Courts, and hospitals and already have triggered some policy changes.

The Center's first target was the Police Department. Wayne explained, "We started to have lots of contacts with police on a low level—the warrant clerks, detectives and the patrolmen—but no one with any power to make policy changes in the Department. At some point there was the realization that there had to be an order saying the police had to do something. It was like we climbed our way to the top."

The staff wrote to Police Superintendent James O'Grady, arguing that battered women in Chicago receive inadequate protection and warning that the Center was prepared to sue. They cited a lawsuit against the New York City Police Department which was settled only when New York police agreed to formulate a new policy in battered women cases.

O'Grady's top assistant called two days later and Wayne demanded a meeting with policy-making officials. The upshot of the meeting was a Police Department order entitled "Battered Females," which states that wife beating is not a "domestic disturbance" but a serious crime, and instructs officers to arrest in the case of serious injury to the woman or inform her how to sign out a warrant for the man's arrest if she is not seriously injured. The order took effect Aug. 11, and the Center is developing a system of monitoring its enforcement.

"I think O'Grady is very smart and did not want a lawsuit by battered women," Wayne observed. "We are going to continue to make them realize that settling it wasn't simply a matter of issuing an order to a bunch of nice ladies. They are really going to have to make some changes in the department procedures."

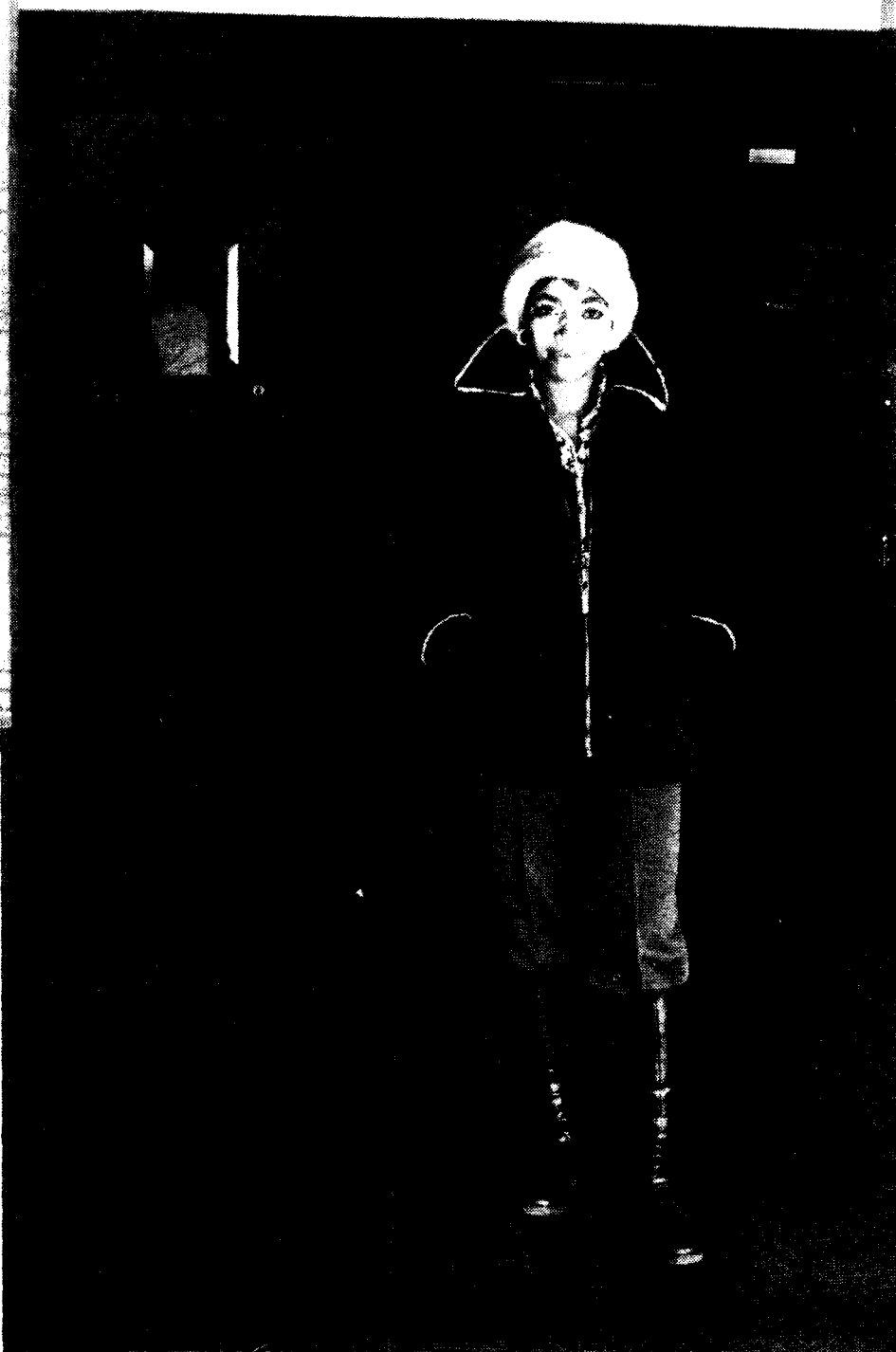
On another front, the Center is working with the YWCA and the Chicago Hospital Council to prepare instructions for dealing with battered women.

The court outreach is just beginning. "That's going to be the most difficult place because we'll be asking the courts to give special attention to battered women," Wayne explained. "That's going to be real hard because you're talking about a court system that's already overcrowded and that's run by the Democratic machine. And we've asked judges to educate themselves a little, which they haven't been particularly eager to do.

"We are asking them to give us the opportunity to explain that we're talking about an escalating pattern of violence. That would make the woman see that their complaints are very serious. To let them see that they are contributing to the man thinking that what he's doing is not wrong. And that they do have some control over that violence. That simply saying something in court like, 'Sir, beating your wife is against the law and it will not be tolerated' would have an overwhelming effect, not just on the man but on the cops and on the woman.

It would make the woman see that what's happening to her is wrong; that society does think it's wrong. Because I think so much of this has to do with its being permitted to go on. I think some of these guys just need someone to say no, unh-unh! And no one does it."

The chains that bind us in unity are the suffering we endure and the love we have for each other.
RESPECT, DIGNITY, LOVE



Patricia Evans, a free-lance journalist in Chicago, is writing a book about Patricia Evans.

TRADITIONALLY, WOMEN WHO kill the men who beat them get little mercy in the hands of the courts. Attorneys are wary of pleading self-defense because frequently the woman, like Pat, has responded to years of beatings and a constant feeling that her life is in danger rather than to a specific life-threatening incident. Pat, faced with the unlikely prospect of winning a trial, opted instead to accept a plea bargain offer by the state.

A murder conviction in Illinois carries a minimum 20-year sentence; Pat pled guilty to a lesser charge of voluntary manslaughter and was sentenced to two to six years at Dwight Correctional Reformatory for Women. She appealed for a pardon as soon as she reached Dwight. Seven months later, on Dec. 6, 1977, Gov. James Thompson commuted her sentence to time already served in a move that was interpreted as an implicit acknowledgement that her killing, and other like it, are, indeed, in self-defense. A handful of subsequent court decisions around the country support this new reading of the theory of self-defense.

"I still don't feel like I've committed a crime," Pat said. "If he had killed me would they say he had committed a crime or that his wife harassed him to the point of doing it? I feel like I did something I was justified in doing because by that point it was either him or me."

Ronni Scheter, a free-lance journalist in Chicago, is writing a book about Patricia Evans.

EDITORIAL

Churning butter into military hardware

President Carter's preliminary budget disclosures promise more guns and less butter. (David Moberg, *ITT*, Nov. 29). The administration will ask Congress for increased arms spending in addition to a new \$2 billion civil defense program reminiscent of the crackpot scheme Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller unsuccessfully tried to foist on New Yorkers almost 20 years ago.

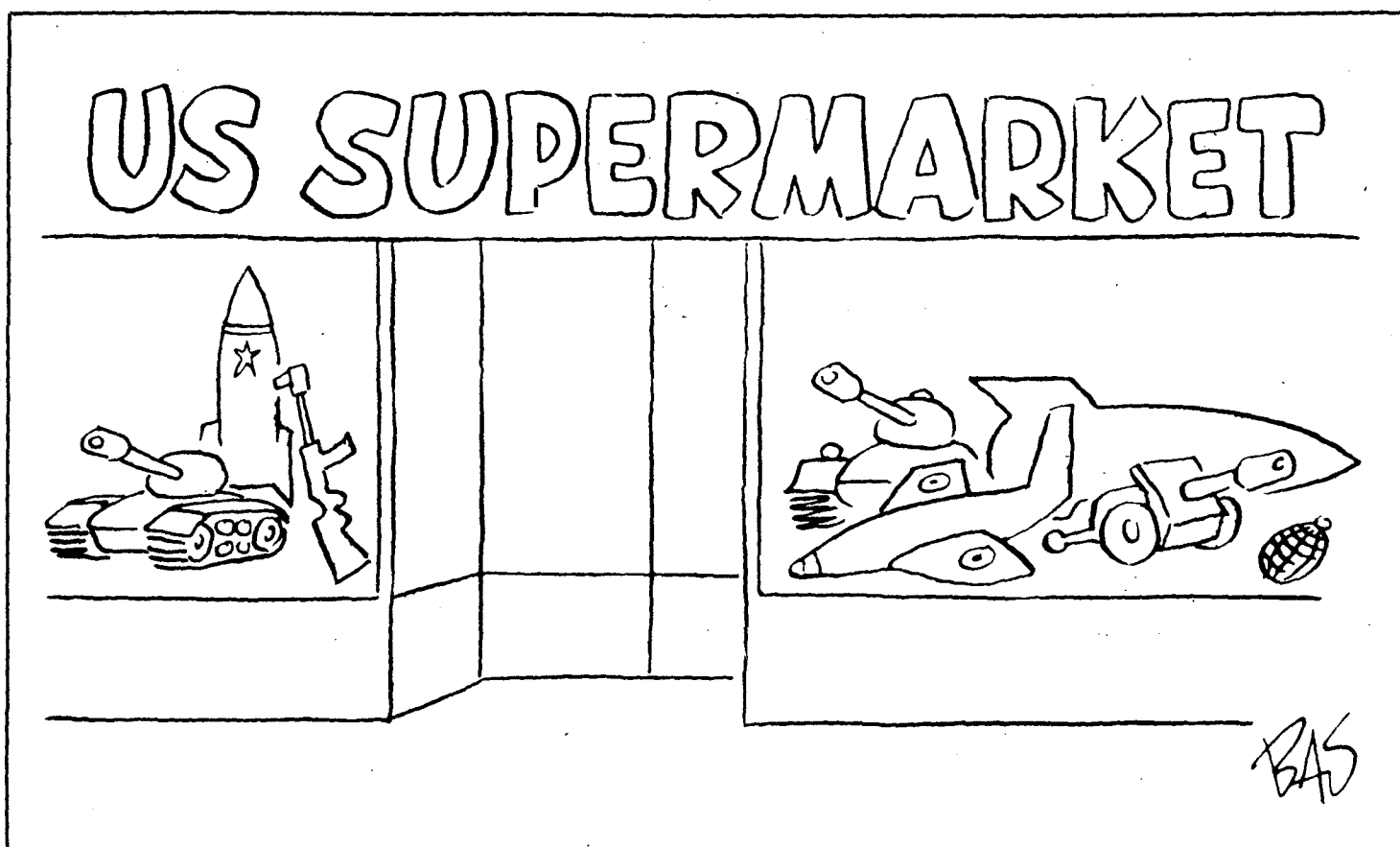
But because the President is also committed to strengthening the dollar in international exchange by cutting the budget deficit without new taxes, he has ordered the Office of Management and Budget to reduce civilian spending by as much as \$15 billion.

This will mean cuts in urban rehabilitation, jobs and job training, medical care, education, social security, housing and environmental protection.

Although Carter's budget plan belies his campaign promises to reduce military spending, aid the cities, reduce unemployment, and never to lie to the American people, it represents an honest definition of the alternatives: We can no longer have both guns and butter as in the years after World War II. We can no longer have a global military machine and social well-being at home. We can no longer have multinational corporations armed with a "strong" dollar abroad and economic growth with low unemployment at home. We can no longer have corporate "internationalism" and social reform.

Contrary to his political rhetoric, Carter has chosen the multinational corporate system over the American people's general welfare. His budget priorities, however, have the virtue of making Carter's choice clear.

But will that also be the American people's choice? It will be by default—given the present Congress and continued big business domination of presidential policy-



Americans must choose: We can no longer have guns *and* butter. Carter's budget makes his choice clear.

making—unless there is a deep realignment of major party politics.

Americans with a stake in social justice, equal opportunity and urban regeneration—the majority of working people—can either accept the defeat of their aspirations and denial of their needs inherent in Carter's choice, or formulate one of their own. But to take the latter course will require readiness to challenge the fun-

damental premises of our foreign policy and to fight for a basic restructuring of a social system that puts a "sound dollar" ahead of a sound people.

They will have to shift the electorate to the left by expanding and transforming it to include the millions of working class Americans now politically inactive.

George Meany, no flaming liberal himself, has called Carter America's most

conservative President since Calvin Coolidge (or is it Grover Cleveland?). But Carter's conservatism is the best the old politics of corporate-liberalism can offer in this period of world capitalist stagnation. Carter's "moderation" as the responsible chief executive of the corporate order has become the extremism of a budget mandating social decay.

Labor can no longer expect the social reform that used to go along with loyalty to corporate liberalism. It can no longer hope to protect working people's interests within the existing mold of party politics. This much Carter's budget priorities have made clear.

A free press and fair trials

THE FARBER CASE

In declining to review the contempt convictions of the *New York Times* and its reporter Myron A. Farber, the U.S. Supreme Court has added new curbs on the American press.

By its inaction, the Court encourages judicial proceedings to violate the confidentiality of journalists' sources in spite of the enactment of shield laws by 26 states. The Court previously upheld warranted searches of newspaper offices by police. That together with its disposition of the Farber case will make it more difficult for the press to inform the public of official malfeasance or wrongdoing, by subjecting potential informants to the likelihood of exposure and the threat of reprisal.

As Jack C. Landau, director of the Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press, observed, "The Supreme Court knows what's going on, and the bottom line is that a newspaper can no longer rely in good faith on the First Amendment or a shield law."

Landau's point gains force from the fact that back in 1972 the Supreme Court in the *Caldwell* case (also known as *Branzburg v. Hayes*) ruled against an absolute First Amendment protection against reporters' obligation to answer questions involving confidential sources before grand juries. But at the same time, it invited state legislatures to enact just such shield laws as that of New Jersey, which was set aside in the Farber case.

In so doing, the New Jersey courts also denied due process by ruling against any need for a hearing as to the materiality of the *Times*' and Farber's files. They ordered that *all* of the files be handed over for *in camera* inspection by the judge.

In letting the New Jersey courts' ruling stand, the U.S. Supreme Court has in effect turned a denial of an absolute First

The courts are using the Sixth Amendment as a battering ram against the First and Fifth.

Amendment protection into an affirmation of an absolute power of the state (through its courts) to intrude upon journalists' sources and writings, and to violate Fifth Amendment guarantees of due process.

Far from seeking some balance among conflicting rights, the courts have found in the Sixth Amendment guarantee of a fair trial a battering ram against the First Amendment guarantee of a free press and the Fifth Amendment guarantee against the exercise by the state of arbitrary power in the realm of conscience and free expression.

In so doing, the courts have not contributed materially to strengthening the guarantee of a fair trial. But they have contributed to the armor of those politicians and business executives who have

recently been crusading against the inconveniences of a free press and an informed public.

WILMINGTON TEN

On a brighter note, the U.S. Justice Department on Nov. 14 filed an *amicus* brief in federal district court in Raleigh, N.C., contending that the trial of ten civil rights activists in Wilmington, N.C., that ended in their conviction and imprisonment "lacked fundamental fairness." (*ITT*, Nov. 29)

The Justice Department's intervention is a laudable, though much belated, response by the Carter administration to the plain record of the racist miscarriage of justice that permeated the trial in the North Carolina courts.

But it should not be forgotten that Carter's Justice Department moved only after two years of intense pressure from American blacks and from public opinion abroad that questioned the sincerity of Carter's human rights professions.

Over forty years after the *Scottsboro* case, *Wilmington Ten* cases still can and do occur in the U.S. The Justice Department's intervention should also remind us that America has a long way to go in securing to all its people the Sixth Amendment guarantee of a fair trial. The Supreme Court might better look into racial and class barriers to a fair trial in America than authorize police and judges to look into journalists' sources, files and private writings.

In These Times and IPS affiliate

In order to further its educational objectives, *IN THESE TIMES* has become a project of the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) of Washington, D.C.

Since 1962, when it was founded, IPS has sponsored a wide range of educational, policy and communications projects in furtherance of its own goals. These projects have represented a diversity of philosophies and views and have had a high degree of functional autonomy.

Since its inception, *IN THESE TIMES* has had a close relationship with fellows of the Institute. The adoption of the newspaper as an IPS project formalizes that relationship and will insure closer cooperation between *IN THESE TIMES* and the fellows and staff of the Institute. It will greatly increase *IN THESE TIMES*' access to Washington resources and will provide IPS fellows greater outlets for their research and policy work.

IN THESE TIMES will retain editorial autonomy, limited only by the tax-exempt status of the Institute. *ITT*'s editorial views and policies will continue to represent those of the newspaper's editors and publishers and will not necessarily reflect the views of fellows or staff of the Institute.

Contributions to *IN THESE TIMES* should now be made through the Institute for Policy Studies, 1901 Q Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20009, and should be earmarked for *ITT*.

LETTERS

NOSE TO THE GROUND, REMER

LARRY REMER'S ARTICLE (ITT, NOV. 15) purports to cover the election in California from a socialist perspective. His articles in the past have fallen far short of their mark, and so does this one. It is abundantly clear that Remer knows very little of the political situation here, or can't keep his own affiliations out of the article.

That socialists/leftists had little to cheer about with this election really depends on who Remer thinks the socialists are. He feels that CED epitomizes that position, and that the tide of the socialist alternative rides or falls with how CED candidates fared in the election.

Well, the Peace and Freedom Party is a socialist party in California, and has been for the past 11 years, and we did quite well. Our candidates for Secretary of State and Controller received 4 and 5 percent of the vote and local PEP candidates garnered between 3 and 10 percent. Apparently Remer did not consider this significant, but decided to write about Libertarian candidate Ed Clark (who, by the way, received 375,000 votes, not 500,000). Most political observers would attribute this to conservative voters who were dissatisfied with both the Republican and American Independent candidates.

Perhaps Remer needs to take a lesson or two from our good friend Snoopy the beagle, who knows how to keep his nose to the ground, rather than ten feet above it.

—Mark J. Hupf
Peace and Freedom Party
Los Angeles

HONEST MISUNDERSTANDING

I WAS AT FIRST TEMPTED TO CRY "slander" when I read Larry Remer's article on the third-party vote in California (ITT, Nov. 15). His statement that Ben Spock's 1972 socialist platform was "indistinguishable from McGovern's" pro-capitalist one had to be either ignorance or malice.

But then I calmed down. Remer is, after all, a strong supporter of the Campaign for Economic Democracy, a notoriously vague organization on the difference between capitalism and socialism; so maybe it was just an honest misunderstanding.

For the record, since Remer didn't mention it in his article, all the Peace and Freedom Party candidates in California this year ran as open and vociferous socialists. This includes assembly candidate Mike Zaharakis, who received 30 percent of the vote in Santa Cruz, carrying several precincts, and Mark Radcliff, who got 12 percent for State Board of Equalization. Liz Barron's 296,000 votes (which may top 300,000 when the final canvass is completed) were the highest vote for a statewide socialist candidate in recent history.

Of course, not all of these votes were for socialism; many were simple protest votes. However, most of them were conscious votes against the bankrupt liberalism (aka "populism") of the Democratic Party and the CED.

—Tom Condit
Berkeley, Calif.

NATIVE SON

I THOUGHT THE REVIEW OF *NATIVE SON* by Bonnie Greer (ITT, Nov. 8) was intelligent and thoughtful. It certainly raised issues that the daily critics didn't come near.

I hope that Greer wasn't suggesting that we did *Native Son* to cash in on the

black audience. Indeed, there was a certain questioning of whether a relatively obscure play by a black author with no laughs and no star was the right project with which to begin the season. I suggested that it was, and that was the end of the matter. I am, of course, pleased that we drew new audiences to the Goodman. And I'm always thrilled to do a play with Meshach Taylor, certainly one of the most talented actors in America.

Chicago is about to erupt with professional theatrical activity. It should be the major center for theater in the country, outside of New York, by a long shot; in two or three years we'll be there. We'll get there by holding ourselves to the highest standards, always questioning, always asking for more. Also by nurturing what we have, and giving it time to grow.

—Gregory Mosher
Artistic Director, Goodman Theatre
Chicago

UNFAIR SHARE

I TAKE EXCEPTION TO YOUR EMPHASIS in the article on Massachusetts' tax classification campaign (ITT, Nov. 15). You have shown a curious lack of support for the progressive forces behind it.

A coalition of citizens groups, notably Massachusetts Fair Share, public and private sector unions, the Massachusetts Mayors Association, churches and others formed to fight 100 percent revaluation. Contrary to what is implied in your article, Mayor White of Boston was one member of the coalition, not its driving force nor its only activist. Yes, White mobilized his electoral machine. Yes, White spent over \$500,000 of public funds. But White alone did not cover the polls in Boston; Fair Share and (to a lesser extent) the unions were there. White did not cover the polls in Worcester; Fair Share and the unions did. White did not cover the polls in Springfield; Fair Share and the unions did. White did not cover the polls in Fall River; Fair Share and the unions did. Likewise, throughout the campaign the coalition relied less on White's money than on its own organized base.

A broad, unprecedented coalition was able to isolate corporate power and win. Furthermore, this coalition, largely propelled by the progressive activism of Fair Share, promises at least the hope of just tax reform in a time of increasing conservatism. And lastly, it is through a campaign such as this that people gradually come to realize where the causes of economic injustice and hardship lie.

So why highlight Mayor White? Why slight that aspect of the tax classification campaign that pertains to the very heart of the potential for significant change in this country?

—Lisa Gallatin
Worcester, Mass.

THE NEW RURAL LEFT

LEADERS OF ORGANIZED LABOR IN Missouri as well as nationally haven't yet figured out just what happened when RTW was defeated not only in the industrial areas about Kansas City and St. Louis, but in nearly every rural county as well.

The real reason farm and small towns people turned out in record numbers to cast their votes against Right-to-Work, often by 2-to-1 margins, is the changing lifestyle and social structure that is now developing all over rural America. Working families seeking to escape the crime-ridden industrial areas are buying small tracts of land, building a house or renting one in a small town where they think they can find a way of life their fathers and mothers and/or grandparents left 30 to 40 years ago. Some of these would-be small farmers and small town dwellers, have members of families still working in

industry and commuting daily to and from the country. Others are retired, often with pensions derived from union contracts, and others have only social security benefits.

But most of the new farmers know that without trade unions they would have neither jobs nor pensions of any kind. Once the message got across to them they voted their new economic interests.

There must be consternation in the office of Reed Larson's National Right to Work Committee, because rural people dared to vote to keep Missouri free of RTW. Eventually, someone will tell George Meany of the AFL-CIO, as well as other labor leaders, just what's happening in rural America. Perhaps they will then begin to form alliances with community organizations such as the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN) which had its origins in Arkansas a few years ago, just as did the Southern Farmers Tenants Union 44 years ago.

—H.L. Mitchell
Montgomery, Ala.

CUT TO THE QUICK

I DISCLAIM RESPONSIBILITY FOR SEVERAL paragraphs that badly changed the meaning of an article, "Carleton College students win South Africa divestiture," which appeared in ITT last week. I originally submitted a 1600-word article with two co-authors; the very brief article that appeared does not accurately represent our work.

—Paul David Wellstone
Northfield, Minn.

FACULTY UNIONS I

DAVID SPRINTZEN'S GOOD PERSPECTIVE piece on faculty unions in the Nov. 15 issue leaves some troublesome questions. For instance, inclusion of private schools in the coalition of faculty purposes—which is certainly not resolved in many states.

Also, use of the term "meritocracy" in the context of the article is disturbing. Often meritocracy is offered in opposition to affirmative action to eliminate racial, ethnic and sexual discrimination. And finally, juxtaposing "professional model" to "industrial model" has an elitist association that should be avoided.

But the thrust of Sprintzen's arguments and the soundness of the coalition idea are certainly right. College and university teachers need a unified, coherent voice. The present cutthroat competition between AFT, NEA, and AAUP is self-defeating.

In many other countries intellectuals have been a liberating and liberalizing force. Why not in the U.S.?

—David Selden
Executive Director,
Western Michigan Univ. AAUP

FACULTY UNIONS II

A COUPLE OF POINTS WERE OMITTED from my article on "Professional Unionism" (ITT, Nov. 15). First, a central goal of the Collective Bargaining Coalition of Long Island Colleges and Universities is the use of the collective bargaining framework to give legal force to the faculty's demand to be a self-governing collectivity for quality education. Our aim is to use the most available legal machinery to counter the growth of managerial corporatism in the academy by forging a new conception of trade unionism in America.

Second, the growing attack on higher education in recent years has squeezed public funding in order to limit student access, while increasing institutional stratification through the development of distinctive university centers, four-year colleges, and two-year "community" colleges, designed primarily as vocational schools.

The Coalition is now forming a political action committee. We have moved our monthly meetings, on a rotating basis,

to our respective campuses more effectively to reach our own "rank and file." And we are planning our second annual conference around the theme of understanding and developing a response to the present corporate offensive. In these ways, we are implementing our commitment to those working toward "increased human services and broadened democratic participation."

—David A. Sprintzen
C.W. Post College
Greenvale, N.Y.

CAN'T BELIEVE

ASSESSMENTS OF THE NATURES AND roles of the Soviet Union, China, Cuba, Vietnam and other nations differ, and ideological controversy on the left is sharp. Events will decide, and when they do, resolution and conciliation will be easier if the debate now respects at least the readily ascertainable facts.

The guest column by Jane Hilowitz on Vietnamese differences with China (ITT, Nov. 8) is a series of misapprehensions and erroneous statements, to put it nicely; it's poison, bluntly. I look down the list of sponsors of *IN THESE TIMES* and I see both friends and persons who have been in the forefront of the good struggles of the past, and I am distressed. Being an editor, I know that busy staffs can't re-research every piece that comes in the mail, but I find it difficult to believe that ITT editors don't know better about the Chinese-Vietnamese past and present.

To say that "China was strongly against Vietnam's war of liberation and Hanoi's attempt to unite North and South Vietnam and that this policy was elaborated by Mao himself" is one of those recastings of history that remind us of the sometime congeniality of some "leftists" with fascist anti-intellectualism. Perhaps the "famous intellectual" Nguyen Khac Vien will favor us with a detailed, year-by-year analysis of the Chinese role in Vietnam in the 1960s and '70s.

It's a bit of a shame that Hilowitz was unable to tuck in the fact that China, a poor country in the throes of political struggle, contributed over \$10 billion worth of assistance to Vietnam, most of it gratis.

The Vien-Hilowitz allegations that Chinese aid to Vietnam stopped in 1972 and that China refused to help in Vietnam's post-war reconstruction are gross misstatements that a very quick inquiry on the part of the editors would have uncovered. We have to ask what kind of person would come out with this kind of stuff.

The notion that China is able to "provoke" so-called "montagnards" (when do Asian peoples get non-imperialist names?) is absurd, and the whole description of the Chinese-Vietnamese border incidents and the flight of Chinese from Vietnam (some 160,000 had fled Vietnam by August) exploits ignorance and affronts those with a cursory knowledge.

If Sen. McGovern can admit that his view of Kampuchea (Hilowitz is addicted to "Cambodia" as she is to "montagnard") was based in large part on refugee propaganda, then perhaps those of us to the left ought to take a soberer view of the matter. Hilowitz offers us a summary of Vietnamese propaganda. She doesn't even raise the issue of Vietnam's insistence on what it calls a "special relationship" with Kampuchea and Laos.

It's a long haul for us, and *IN THESE TIMES* will stay in the struggle and make a contribution it can look back on with satisfaction if it raises its general column standards.

—Hugh Deane
New York

[Editor's Note: Jane Hilowitz' article was a report on a press conference of Nguyen Khac Vien and of his views, which are apparently those of the government in Vietnam. Hilowitz reported them as such and it is not the editor's function to launder Vien's views to fit our own. We prefer to present events and information as objectively as possible and let our readers draw their own conclusions.]

BOOKS

Historical roots of black poverty today

THE ROOTS OF BLACK POVERTY

Jay R. Mandle
Temple University Press, 1978

SOCIAL ORIGINS OF THE NEW SOUTH: ALABAMA 1860-1885

Jonathan Wiener
Louisiana University Press, 1978

In the past two decades, the most creative writing by American historians has centered on the South, and particularly on slavery. Beginning with the work of Kenneth Stampp and Stanley Elkins in the 1950s and running through more recent books by Eugene D. Genovese, Edmund Morgan, Herbert Gutman and others, historians have thoroughly reexamined the South's "peculiar institution" and its impact on both black and white Americans.

Lately, post-emancipation Southern history has attracted increasing attention. The new books by Jay R. Mandle and Jonathan Wiener—both young Marxist scholars—reflect growing interest in the aftermath of slavery. Both also reflect the most recent developments in a long historical debate over the impact of the Civil War and Reconstruction on American life.

The history of the post-war South has gone through a series of distinct interpretations. The traditional view, which survived into the 1960s, saw Reconstruction as a descent into barbarism, from which the South was mercifully rescued by the courageous efforts of white "Redeemers." Although thoroughly discredited by historians, this is probably still the prevailing popular view of the period.

During the 1950s and 1960s, a group of "revisionist" historians, influenced by the civil rights movement, drew attention to the positive achievements of state Reconstruction governments and the progress made by blacks in social and political life. Although arguing that Reconstruction did not go far enough, especially in its failure to distribute land to the former slaves, the revisionist view was far more positive and optimistic than the earlier blanket condemnation of Reconstruction.

Most recently, perhaps reflecting the waning of the civil rights impulse and the cynicism of the '70s, we seem to have entered a new phase of interpretation. Several writers have claimed that little of sig-

nificance changed in the South as a result of the Civil War.

Mandle and Wiener both reflect this latest emphasis on continuity, on the continuing subordination of blacks rather than progress toward racial equality. Their overall portrait of 19th century Southern history is indeed bleak.

Mandle, a professor of economics at Temple University, attempts in his book to explain the origins of modern black poverty, sensibly arguing that its roots lie in the aftermath of slavery. Well into this century the South remained, as Franklin Roosevelt called it, "the nation's number one economic problem." The reason, Mandle argues, was the survival of the plantation economy, which mired the region and especially its black population in a pattern of economic underdevelopment. Blacks, it appears, were poor because the South, and particularly the plantation region where most blacks lived, was poor.

In little over 100 pages, Mandle sketches a model of southern economic development. The plantation system remained virtually stagnant from 1865 to World War I, he claims. Resting on the coercion of the labor force, the plantation economy suppressed alternative employments that might have enabled blacks to escape their poverty. Not until the cut-off of European immigration during World War I, forcing northern industry to turn to blacks as laborers, did migration out of the plantation region become a real possibility.

Under the impact of the massive migrations beginning during World War I, the plantation system first cracked, then disintegrated. By the end of the 1940s, it no longer existed. But its legacy of poverty has haunted blacks to the present day.

Mandle's book certainly represents an advance over the recent writings of neo-classical economic historians who believe the sharecropping system worked to the best advantage of all involved.

In attempting to survey the South since the Civil War in so brief a compass, Mandle has, perhaps inevitably, ignored historical development. He creates an entirely static model of the plantation economy, and seems to treat the period from 1865 to World War II as a homogeneous, unchanging unity.

The most serious problem is that Mandle gives no sense of how the plantation

system was shaped in the conflict between planters and black laborers. His discussion of the black response to their economic situation is thin and misleading. Drawing on the work of Genovese, he claims that a culture of paternalism survived the Civil War and shaped black-white relations after it. But while Genovese used "paternalism" in a very specific historical sense, as a particular set of social relations under slavery, Mandle employs it to cover just about every non-economic feature of Southern life—social, political and psychological.

Actually, Mandle's argument is less reminiscent of Genovese than of Stanley Elkins, who insisted 20 years ago that slavery had infantilized blacks, producing a "Sambo" personality. Similarly, Mandle (with no supporting evidence) assumes that black culture was dominated by a "debilitating culture of black dependency," an "ideology of subservience" that made resistance to the plantation regime impossible. Even a cursory study of black politics since the Civil War would reveal how misleading is this assertion.

For a more detailed investigation of the situation, readers can turn to Jonathan Wiener's study of five black belt counties in western Alabama in the years after the Civil War.

As Wiener observes, the shape of the plantation economy was the outcome of a complex, many-sided class conflict, in which planters, emancipated slaves, merchants, and aspiring industrialists played a part. The sharecropping system did not emerge full-blown from the ashes of the Confederacy. It was, in effect, a compromise between planters' desire for a controlled labor force, and the ex-slaves' passion for possession of land or, barring that, independence from white supervision.

Planters at first attempted to work the freedmen in gangs. Blacks responded by resisting and in persistent complaints of "labor shortage" in the post-war years. Planters turned to state legislatures to coerce black labor, passing vagrancy laws and other measures to force blacks onto the plantations, and used the Freedmen's Bureau to force their will upon the freedmen, Wiener argues. And the planters resorted to violence, dominating the Ku Klux Klan and employing it against freedmen whose work was not considered satisfactory.

Wiener is acutely aware of the importance of political struggles in shaping the evolution of the southern economy. Reconstruction emerges as a brief interlude when blacks were able to influence legislation and protect their right to a share of the crop on plantations. With the end of Reconstruction, planters not only reenacted the old vagrancy laws, but used their political control to impede industrial development and to thwart the attempt of merchants to control the supply of credit to blacks.

Wiener's main sources of information are the manuscript census returns, which give a considerable amount of information about the wealth of merchants and planters, and Alabama's newspapers. Unfortunately, he has not studied the private manuscript collections of planters, or the extremely important Freedmen's Bureau Papers in the National Archives.

Had he done so, he would have been able to convey a more immediate sense of everyday life in the Alabama black belt. He probably would have treated planters and merchants less as homogeneous groups than as classes with their own internal divisions. And her certainly would have modified his picture of the Freedmen's Bureau as the agent of the planter class.

The Bureau's labor policies did assist planters in obtaining plantation laborers, but their efforts to protect the civil rights of blacks flew in the face of planter demands for total control of the labor force. Even in Alabama, it was the planters who wanted the Bureau to leave the state, the freedmen who hoped it would remain.

Mandle and Wiener both exemplify the recent trend toward downplaying the significance of the Civil War and emancipation. It seems unlikely that such a bleak view will be able to encompass the many changes that took place in the post-war years, including the rise of black politics and the agrarian revolt. A convincing synthesis of the history of the South after the Civil War is still to be written, but when it is, as these books show, it will have to place at its center the survival of the plantation economy and the struggle for control of the black labor force. ■

—Eric Foner

Eric Foner teaches history at City College, CUNY. He is the author of *Tom Paine* and is writing the volume on *Reconstruction* for the *New American* series.

Spook homeward, agent

SPOOKS: THE HAUNTING OF AMERICA—THE PRIVATE USE OF SECRET AGENTS

By Jim Hougan
William Morrow, New York, 1978

Jim Hougan, *Harper's* Washington editor, spent the past four years researching the world of private intelligence. He probed the inner-workings of a "secret metropolis the size of Pittsburgh" that threatens our democratic society.

Thousands of American intelligence agents, who have moved from the federal government (CIA and FBI) to the more lucrative private sector, are spooking America. They have made *Mission Impossible* agencies specializing in covert operations available to the highest bidder. Their clients include the upper crust of corporate America: Hughes, Hunt, Rockefeller, Getty, Ford, Mellon, ITT, IBM, Exxon and GM. Even McDonald's has become a client by putting Intertel (the private intelligence firm based in the Bahamas' Paradise Island) on its payroll to investigate two of its own franchise holders.

Hougan reveals a web of payoffs, kickbacks, assassinations, and revolutions. We watch Robert Vesco, the mysterious "man behind the scenes" of the Watergate affair, engage people like Orlando Bosch (anti-Castro political terrorist), Paul Louis Weiller (reputed to be the original "French Connection"), Mafia boss

Sam Trafficante, and the Drug Enforcement Agency, in a bungled attempt to eliminate "socialism from the Western hemisphere as a whole." Or we follow then Vice-President Richard Nixon, Greek shipping tycoon Stavros Niarchos, Big Oil, and the CIA in an effort to destroy Aristotle Onassis.

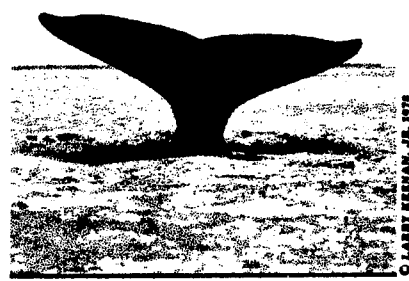
Spooking is not confined to right-wingers and conservatives. Liberals and left-liberals also resort to it. "Nixon is a convenient fall-guy," says Hougan, but the worst is not over.

Hougan quotes an authority who claims that "for every bugging device in the hands of government, there are 300 in the private sector." Since World War II, multinational corporations have established their own intelligence agencies, enabling them to operate above the law or in alliance with government agencies. In Venezuela, for example, the CIA has merged with Exxon's Creole (spying) subsidiary resulting in Exxon's being the CIA and vice versa.

The spooks haunting America are no mere apparition. Tax dollars have supported an intelligence community that, originally established to protect American democracy against foreign enemies, has now turned against the same democracy on behalf of an oligarchic corporate sector.

—Douglas Bradley
Douglas Bradley is a free-lance writer in Madison, Wisc.

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PERSPECTIVES

Old labels are no guide to Charles Evers' insurgent politics in Mississippi

By Jason Berry

IN HIS "INSIDE STORY" (NOV. 22), JOHN JUDIS WROTE, "Charles Evers, the black Senate candidate, ran a fairly opportunistic race, trying to attract white votes with anti-welfare, anti-integration rhetoric, reportedly telling black leaders that he meant nothing of the kind." ¶In all deference to my friend Judis, let's look at what really happened in Mississippi.

¶When I agreed to work for Charles Evers in the Senate campaign this fall, it had been seven years since he ran statewide (for governor); while I'd written extensively about politics, I'd had no partisan involvements since working as his 1971 campaign press secretary.

I was initially concerned by his opposition to busing, since Charles had led the fight for it in Mississippi. But I quickly saw an enthusiastic response, by some of the poorest black communities in Mississippi to his attacks on busing and welfare. These are admittedly code words for '60s conservatism, and in using such code words, the Fayette mayor was appealing to discontented whites. But Evers' logic is anything but cynical.

His position was that most kids being bused were black, and they were taken from their neighborhoods into white areas. He pointed to black schools in once close-knit neighborhoods, now shrouded in weeds. Evers drew some of his most powerful responses when he told black crowds, "Talk about busin', look what it did. They bus us to their schools and fire our teachers. We used to have 400 black principals, now we only have 25. We used to have about as many black coaches. Now you know how many we got, black folks? Twelve."

His repeatedly stated position was support of "strong, integrated, neighborhood schools"—which meant if whites lived in the area (as many do, hence black-busing) then they would have to go to black schools.

As for welfare, Evers has been a vocal critic of the welfare system for roughly a decade. "I hate welfare. I hate it with a passion, because it degrades a person. I stand for workfare.... The federal government and industry should work hand in hand to create jobs for our folk." As with busing, the people most enraged by his criticism of welfare were liberals. Blacks generally were very receptive, particularly when Evers called for a child-support law to force fathers to provide for deserted children.

Perhaps his positions are conservative. I frankly don't know. The welfare bureaucracy has clearly failed, and if a black leader in Mississippi attacks it, I'm willing to consider alternatives.

There were more important political developments in Evers' Senate campaign, however, than these issues. He ran a highly visible campaign, on little money, with overtones of the old populists. He attacked Mississippi Power and Light and South Central Bell for rate increases, opposed deregulation of natural gas and criticized the oil corporations for unfair profits. He was the only candidate to support the extension of the ERA and the Voting Rights Act—and his lone endorsement from a white group came from the Mississippi Federation of Business and Professional Women, fifty-white, a traditionally-minded group that made a pol-

itical quantum leap because of his ERA stand.

Although he opposed the Kennedy national health insurance plan as too inflationary, he demanded guaranteed health-care benefits for the poor; called for abolition of sales tax on food, medicine, and clothing; and in addressing the state's terrible education problems, said if necessary he was for building more schools. At the same time, he opposed big government as being too wasteful and creating regulatory hardships on small businessmen. He also called for a return to prayer in schools (which is a constitutional not a legislative question). In a state with a deep religious culture, particularly among rural blacks, it hit home. Is this a conservative position? Perhaps so, but again it seems an example to me of how the old code terms of yesterday's conservative-liberal dichotomy are losing their meaning.

Evers ran as an Independent for several reasons. He bolted the Democratic Party long ago when liberals like Hodding Carter and Patt Derian (now with the Carter State Department) abandoned coalition-building in the early '70s to pursue their own national political careers even prior to Jimmy Carter. Likewise, he attacked the state party for never supporting black candidates. The state AFL-CIO did support civil rights aims in the past, but has not supported Evers in two statewide races, even though he was far and away the most progressive candidate. Labor's candidate, Democrat Maurice Dantin, was every bit as conservative as Republican Thad Cochran in opposition to labor reforms, ERA, and the Voting Rights Act.

Evers himself opposed common-situs picketing and supported the state's right-to-work laws, positions I do not share. But there is a more fundamental commitment to the labor movement in Evers, as evidenced in his long-standing support of the Gulf Coast Pulpwood Association, a predominately white, dirt-poor union of pulpwood haulers, who won a strike against Masonite in 1971, with help from Evers. The wood haulers endorsed Evers in 1978, and with their help he carried Jasper and Kemper Counties, two heavily white, one might even say "redneck" counties. They used to call the latter "Bloody Kemper."

Early post-election analyses say the Mayor received 25,000 white votes, which is remarkable when you consider he was still receiving death threats in the 1971 gubernatorial run. But for the better part of a decade now, Evers has done something no other Deep South black politician I know of has done. He has gone directly to pockets of conservative white

rural folk, soliciting their support and trying to build a bi-racial coalition on the basis of bread-and-butter economic issues. This year he had several ex-Klansmen working for him, along with the 1967 campaign manager of Jimmy Swan, a crusty segregationist who once campaigned in a great silver bus with "Save Our Children" emblazoned across it.

Evers is intent on building an Independent political force in Mississippi; it is not being called a party. Although the idea is in planning stages, several key members of the campaign are committed to the idea of a 1979 race for Lt. Governor or Governor, with Evers as titular head of a field of candidates running as Independents for the state legislature. This will force the Democratic Party either to get behind black candidates for local offices, as it has never done in the past, or to do what it has always done, which is conspire to defeat them. But in 1979, history should be on the blacks' side.

A remarkable reapportionment lawsuit, more than a decade in the making, will soon be settled, opening up about 25 predominantly black legislative districts. As there are only four blacks in the Mississippi House (and none in the Senate) today, a well-run Independent ticket in the general election could carry a number of blacks into the legislature, avoiding costly summer primaries.

The Senate campaign was a definite boost to Evers' political strategy, for by appearing with Dantin and Cochran at the various candidates' forums, it marked his acceptance into the Mississippi political mainstream. Thousands of whites who in the past had avoided or simply been unable to hear him, got to hear and see the man, and he won high marks in the press for speaking bluntly about crucial economic issues.

When you consider that we ran the whole campaign on \$80,000—Cochran had a million, Dantin a little less—and managed to capture nearly a quarter of the 132,000 vote, the Senate try takes on new meaning. In putting together the be-

ginnings of a state-wide coalition of blacks, women, disaffected Democrats and some poor whites, Evers has established himself as a pivotal political force to be reckoned with down the road. The challenge now is to build on the base established this fall.

The greatest deterrent to the Senate campaign was money. It is terribly difficult to raise money for a black campaign in Mississippi; it's blacks are the poorest in the poorest state in the country. Black candidates across the country were having money problems. The chief obstacle to Evers' fundraising was the *New York Times* strike, which denied him national media coverage, valuable for fundraising mail-outs and then the general information flow about a politician so necessary in making national contacts. (The National Committee for an Effective Congress—whatever the name means—did not even return my calls.)

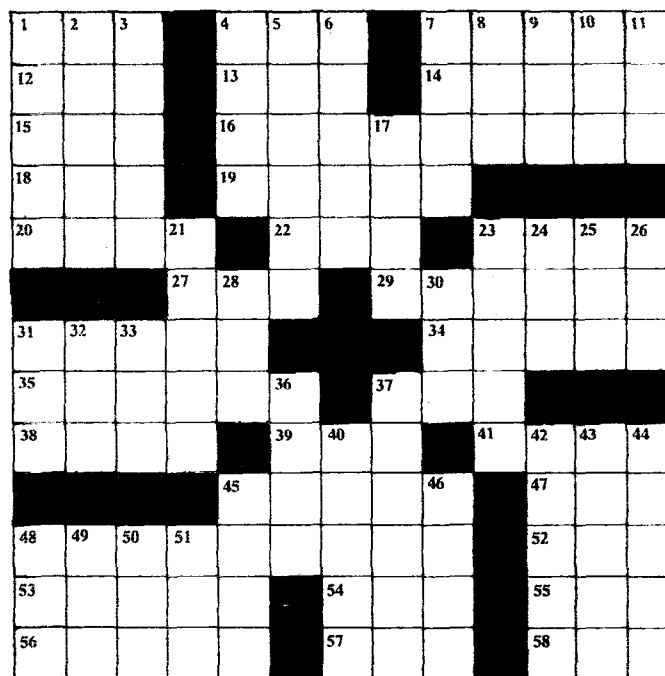
The rise of an Independent movement is the price paid by the Democratic Party in Mississippi for abusing, avoiding, and stealing from black voters for so many years. Still the success or failure of Evers' ambitions will be determined by black support. There are several prominent blacks, like NAACP president Aaron Henry (also co-chairman of the Democratic Party), who have remained in the party fold. The difference is that Evers commands a popular following.

I must admit that partisan politics don't seem to me a likely way of engineering social change. Particularly in Mississippi, the odds are imposing. But the idea of an Independent political movement at the bottom of America intrigues me. Although my politics are to the left of Evers, I admire the man because he endured when other civil rights figures abandoned work on behalf of the poor.

Jason Berry, author of *Amazing Grace: With Charles Evers in Mississippi*, was a county organizer in Evers' recent Senate campaign. He is currently at work on a television documentary about New Orleans jazz families.

Currently Newsworthy

By Jay Shepherd



ACROSS

- 1 Where luxury resides, often
- 4 Navy rank (abbr.)
- 7 Aircraft equipment
- 12 Hockey star Bobby
- 13 Darjeeling
- 14 French writer Zola
- 15 Wedding vow
- 16 Scene of a summit
- 18 Fisherman's need
- 19 Endured
- 20 Gaelic tongue
- 22 On the ____ (at large)
- 23 Prefix with dynamics
- 27 Crafty
- 29 Advertisement
- 31 Hemispheric org.
- 34 Barrel part
- 35 Make beloved
- 37 Understand
- 38 Rend

DOWN

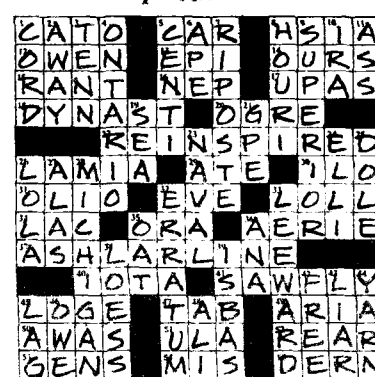
- 39 Eggs
- 41 Certain walkway
- 45 Creme de la creme
- 47 By means of
- 48 Newsmakers with a new face
- 52 Road curve
- 53 Wake up
- 54 Youth
- 55 Soak, as flax
- 56 Avarice
- 57 Mata Hari, for one
- 58 Make a stab at
- 1 French valley
- 2 Passion
- 3 Jobs
- 4 Common catch-alls, for short
- 5 With care
- 6 Margaret Mead subject
- 7 Comedian Foxx

8 "I ____ camera"

- 9 504, to Caesar
- 10 Boxing champ
- 11 Blusher's cheeks
- 17 Partner to circumstance

- 21 Organic compound
- 23 Daisy's cousin
- 24 Greek vowel
- 25 Speed up, as a car
- 26 Valuable mineral
- 28 Mauna ____
- 30 Sugar (suffix)
- 31 After ready
- 32 Vane direction
- 33 Nabokov novel
- 36 Contemporary therapy
- 37 Petty tyrant
- 40 Early stringed instruments
- 42 Ward off
- 43 Stingy one
- 44 Sickly white
- 45 Ogled
- 46 Whirlpool
- 48 In the ____ (assured)
- 49 Wander
- 50 Draw
- 51 Mao ____-tung

Answer to last week's puzzle



LIFE IN THE U.S.



Julian Empson, a beer vendor for the Vikings, holds together the coalition to stop a new stadium.



Lyle Schwarzkopf, Minneapolis city clerk, is chief lobbyist for a downtown domed stadium.

SPORTS

Chilly 'no' to new Minnesota stadium

By Jim Ford

NEW YORK CITY TAXPAYERS recently subsidized the New York Yankees to the tune of \$240 million dollars. They paid for skyrocketing renovation costs on Yankee Stadium.

New Yorkers are in good company. In most cities, taxpayers help professional sports owners take in oversized profits, and then as fans they pay dearly for the privilege of sitting in their stadiums.

But public skepticism about the benefits of erecting steel monuments to professional sports is on the upsurge, with the spotlight on Minnesota.

After years of threats by Max Winter (owner of the football Vikings) that he would move his franchise unless given a new domed stadium, in May 1977 the Minnesota state legislature passed a Stadium Act creating the Metropolitan Sports Facilities Commission. The seven-member gubernatorially-appointed body chaired by Dan Brutger, a self-made St. Cloud millionaire who owns one of the state's largest construction firms and a 17-location motel chain, reads like a Who's Who of the state Chamber of Commerce.

The Commission must render its final decision Dec. 1. It has all but ruled out a domed stadium. A downtown Minneapolis site—once a foregone conclusion—is uncertain, and it is conceivable—though unlikely—there won't be any new stadium. Public opposition to a new municipal facility is overwhelming, stronger now than during the five years of debate preceding the Stadium Act. This is largely because Twin Cities sports fans have engineered a "Stop the Stadium" movement.

Stop the Stadium.

The "Stop the Stadium" movement traces back to the Sports Facilities Commission's first public hearing in July 1977. Julian Empson, a beer vendor for the Vikings, Twins and soccer Kicks, told the Commission that new stadiums put fans too far from the playing field, were "hollow

and depressing...promoted racial separation and general alienation," and that their artificial surfaces ruined games and players. Empson advised the Commission to forget about building anything new and, instead, undertake necessary renovations of 48,000 capacity Metropolitan Stadium in Bloomington.

Players hate the artificial turf, taxpayers won't pick up the tab, and fans fear TV blackouts.

Fifteen months later, Empson is still a sports connoisseur. But he is also the glue that holds together a loosely-knit Stop the Stadium coalition that includes the West Bank Tenants Union, Citizens Opposed to the Stadium Tax (COST), Twin Cities senior citizens and neighborhood groups, an enlarging number of state legislators, and the "Save the Met Committee" he organized.

Coalition members have circulated petitions throughout the state, spoken at numerous Twin Cities community meetings, leafletted sports events, held fundraisers and sold "Save the Met" T-shirts to support their activities, and sponsored rallies. Save the Met gets widespread media coverage, no small achievement since the state's major news publisher, the Minneapolis Star and Tribune Company, owns a portion of the targeted Minneapolis stadium site.

Boondoggling.

Save the Met has homed in on one popular and sensitive target—the history of stadium boondoggles across the country. Projected construction costs for a new facility range from \$28 to \$55 million, depending upon which of seven options the Sports Facilities Commission chooses. These estimates, says Save the Met, may not be "in the ballpark."

Save the Met points to the renovation

of New York's Yankee Stadium, where the public cost soared from \$25 to \$240 million; to the Louisiana Superdome, projected at \$35 million but swelling to \$325 million—not including a \$12 million operating loss to-date; to the Seattle Kingdome that gobbles up \$2.6 million in tax dollars annually to pay off original con-

struction costs; to the Pontiac Silverdome near Detroit, a white elephant despite an \$800,000 yearly subsidy from the state of Michigan. Besides, redemption of bonds issued to build Met Stadium won't be completed until 1988, and there are no less than six publicly owned arenas and stadiums in the Twin Cities that house—or once housed—professional teams.

Using Sports Facilities Commission price increase projections of 28 percent to 58 percent upon completion of a new stadium means the end of affordable tickets and a softer, expense-account crowd at sports events. A new 65,000-seat stadium also increases the chances of TV blackouts of Vikings' home games, Save the Met says, pointing to a mid-year FANS report based on FCC data.

Fairy tales.

The Stadium Act passed with the assurance that no public money would be directly involved in any construction—a real fairy tale. First came a "fall-back tax" (in the event a new stadium wasn't self-supporting), a 2 percent metro area liquor sales lien that supports the present operations of the Sports Facilities Commission and the \$42,000 annual salary of its executive director. If a new stadium is located in the site preferred by area business interests—downtown Minneapolis—

the Hennepin County Juvenile Center must be relocated at a cost of \$10 million. Another \$2 million is projected for repaving roads, building stadium access ramps, and adding or deleting sewer and power lines.

Social costs would involve the certain disruption of the West Bank community, and the possible displacement of the lower-middle income residents of multi-ethnic neighborhoods, senior citizens homes and hospitals by a developers' complex. Pollution from exhaust emissions during stadium events is expected to exceed legal safety standards, as are noise levels. There also isn't sufficient space for public parking.

And if a stadium overruns cost projections, the Sports Facilities Commission can extend the liquor tax. Raising funds for bond redemptions and interest payments in other urban areas has led to cutbacks in more vital city services, particularly in school system sports programs and the construction and maintenance of public recreational facilities.

The chief beneficiary of a new stadium and more seats stands to be Max Winter. His Vikings sell out every game, gross profits range from 33 percent to 50 percent, and net income this year will be upwards of \$3 million.

The bank account of Twins' owner Calvin Griffith is also in for a boost (if he isn't yet purged by the onslaught of calls for his removal following his racist remarks at a September Lions' Club meeting in Waseca, Minn., where he said that he moved to Minnesota in 1961 after learning there were only 15,000 blacks in the Twin Cities). The potential big loser in the owners' corner is the Kicks; there is speculation the franchise can't survive the lease obligations of a new stadium.

As for the athletes, only four of the 45-

man Viking roster favor a new playground and a Kicks player said his teammates were unanimously opposed. The prevailing sentiment is that artificial turf causes too many serious injuries, and even Vikings' coach Bud Grant bucked manage-

Continued on page 19.

Jonestown

Continued from page 3.

tell of Jones' possessive abuse of his followers.

Terrified by Ryan's visit.

When publicity broke in *New West* in August 1977, hundreds of members slipped away from their jobs to follow Jones into the wilds of Guyana. Jones was also fleeing Grace Stoen, a former member who was trying to recover her child that Jones claimed, loss of little John-John appeared to be one of Jones' greatest fears.

Although the agricultural experiment had been progressing, the influx of large numbers of raw recruits who knew nothing of farming strained the capacity of the place, and the farming declined. Jones had enough money—estimated by a lawyer who died in the suicide at over \$13 million in various accounts, plus well over \$1 million in cash at Jonestown—that he could have sustained the community comfortably. Instead, he drove people harder, fed them less, crowded them in inadequate quarters, and stepped up discipline. He spun out more wild stories to demonstrate the impossibility of escape—tigers and snakes waiting in the jungle, the government granted him the legal right to shoot anyone who fled, and the American embassy promised cooperation to send back anyone who escaped.

Each governmental, legal or press inquiry, each step of the Stoen law suit, each difficulty with the outside world convinced Jones more and more of the vast plot to destroy him. He retreated to his house, reportedly with continual high fever, taking drugs, reading voraciously (copies of *IN THESE TIMES* were, sad to say, discovered in his house at Jonestown). His services concentrated on harangues about current events and the rise of fascism, along with severe beatings of all who complained, although beatings were replaced by hard labor late last spring after a trusted member defected from the community.

The Ryan visit terrified him. When people decided to leave with the Congressman, Jones apparently decided there was no way out, even though negotiations had already begun with the Soviet em-

bassy in Georgetown for sanctuary in the USSR.

We tried.

Although many balked at the real "White Night," in the end, only three people—including Jones—apparently died from gunshots. Survivors, such as Prokes, who only by chance missed the suicide, cannot understand why more members did not doubt the wisdom of the suicide and escape. "It's the mystery of mysteries," he says.

Yet resignation, mixed with fear, and, for many, a genuine belief in Jim Jones' capability to lead them to a "higher plane" through revolutionary suicide probably led to the ghoully, brightly colored stacks of bodies found around the Jonestown pavilion. On the arm of one young girl was written, "We tried." So many thought.

Now, the few dozen survivors, most still in Guyana, replay the final days in interviews (some sold for thousands of dollars to free-spending journalists) or in their dreams. Tim Carter tried hard one morning last week to wash away, with coffee, the Nembutal fuzz that had given him his first good night's sleep in more than ten days. "I dreamed I saw my wife and daughter," he said. "They were alive and reaching toward me. Then I woke and remembered they were dead. I wonder if those dreams will ever end."

Minn. Met

Continued from page 18.

ment by saying, "There is no question that artificial turf shortens a player's career."

Since mid-summer, members of the Sports Facilities Commission have backed off, emphasizing that they can render a "no-build" decision on Dec. 1. The Stadium Act was upheld in the state Supreme Court, thereby reversing a lower court decision; the U.S. Supreme Court refused to hear the case. Opponents of the act in the state legislature, led by the Ramsey County delegation, are gearing up for a repeal effort. The massacre of the Democratic Farmer-Labor Party in the general elections increases the chances for successful abolishment of the Act; Governor-

elect Al Quie is also said to be no booster of a new stadium.

But at the grass-roots level, members of the Stop the Stadium movement are pushing for a state commitment to refurbish Metropolitan Stadium. Anything less, be it a no-build decision or repeal of the Stadium Act, means the crucial battle may be yet to come. This is because the bloodbrothers of antitrust-exempt sports and big business have developed a new tactic to get what they want. It's called "private initiative of stadium construction."

The game plan comes from the St. Louis construction of Busch Stadium in 1966 by a group of developers headed by August Busch, owner of the Cardinals. They incorporated as the Civic Center Redevelopment Corporation and sang free enterprise's commitment to the salvation of the inner city. In return for sparing taxpayers the burden of building a new stadium, the Redevelopment Corporation bought at rock bottom prices land targeted for urban renewal and vacated by HUD using both state and federal funds.

The Minnesota scenario took on the spirit of St. Louis on Sept. 27 when Charles Krussell, executive director of the Greater Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce, representing a consortium of downtown business interests that included the Star and Tribune Company, asked the Housing and Redevelopment Authority (HRA) for the exclusive 15-year rights to develop unused portions of the stadium project in return for \$11.5 million in land and gifts to the city.

HRA quickly approved the plan, despite objections of Jack Cann, coordinator of the Cedar-Riverside Project Area Committee, who said the consortium was given development rights "before the public understands what has happened. This is totally unrelated to the stadium. But somehow they've seen the opportunity and are just stepping in. It's like blackmail."

What the Minnesota battle shows is that sports and political activists cannot afford to ignore spectator sports issues, they are directly related to—and affect—a broad spectrum of social struggles, including the citizenry's right to actively participate in the sports experience.

Jim Ford is one of the founders of FANS, Fight to Advance the Nation's Sports.

Abortion

Continued from page 5.

order and confusion under which these unethical practices could thrive," she said.

"Public health officials cannot be excused for their failure to enforce existing regulations. But legislators have passed an amazing tangle of regulations and unconstitutional laws to the point where public health agencies and enforcement agencies can barely keep track of the regulations," she added.

The Illinois House Human Resources Committee will begin hearings next week eliciting testimony from representatives of clinics and regulatory agencies to determine what action should be taken to curb future abuse. Gov. Thompson's blue-ribbon investigatory task force will also soon begin work.

While pro-choice groups tend to support increased and firm enforcement of existing regulations, pro-life forces view the situation as an opportunity to enact legislation to further restrict availability to those seeking abortion.

"Pro-life will milk this expose for all it's worth. And it's worth quite a lot," Joe Scheidler, executive director of the militantly pro-life Friends For Life told *IN THESE TIMES* in reference to the continuing *Chicago Sun-Times* series. In the following days, however, the *Sun-Times* discussed Chicago clinics that provide safe and humane services, but also critically examined Friends For Life.

Calling Scheidler a "bearded, steely-eyed zealot," and a "demi-god of mercy," a reporter infiltrated the organization and related Scheidler's role as recruiter and trainer of "truth teams," sent to harass women entering clinics. More seriously, Scheidler's role as the main organizer of PEACE actions, responsible for the disruption and vandalizing of area clinics, was also described. PEACE (People Expressing a Concern for Everyone), ostensibly a separate organization, is merely a front group with no board of directors or internal structure of its own.

PEACE takes credit for Friends For Life activities that are illegal and raises questions regarding the non-profit, educational tax status of that organization.

ALBUM

PHOTOGRAPH BY MEG GERKEN





ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

Photographs by Sylvia Plachy

Some women like to play rock'n'roll

By Georgia Christgau

Late last summer local rock'n'roll waved me good-bye when someone threw a bottle at one of the Dead Boys on stage, cutting him.

So when a friend recommended The B52s this fall, I was quick with the generalizations. Punk rock was just stupid men posing as stupider boys. No group named after a bomber had anything to say to me. I went to CBGB (the New York punk club) alone on a rainy Thursday night. I was doing my job.

I knew there were two women in The B52s, which normally would have lifted my spirits, but tonight it only made me more wary. Hardly any women played instruments in rock bands. They would be terrible. Worse, I'd excuse them.

But as their set began I reacted

with a fan's instincts: Can I make what she's wearing for under \$5? The band did a great version of "Downtown." They played originals. One woman played guitar; the other, more typically for rock'n'roll, was a singer. But her pageboy brunette wig and campy clothes suggested a parody of a girl rock singer, not a clone of one. I'd watched Patti Smith choose androgyny to get around male stereotypes, but in my wildest educated guesses I'd never imaged a rock'n'roller walking on stage with a blue patent leather handbag.

I was having a great time. I thought the women on stage had something to do with it; yet their presence didn't seem like a big deal.

I went to see if there were any more women rock'n'roll musicians around town. I found 15 or so bands circulating with women

instrumentalists, but few were in the punk rock/CBGB's scene. Avant-garde rock—played mainly in little clubs that opened next week and closed sooner—was the scene for women rockers. But the vibes were very different. No fan stuff here. Act cool. I learned quickly about avant-garde vibes when one group played too loud: the people, instead of complaining, like a rock audience would, covered their ears politely, like friends.

In such a receptive climate, it was understandable that women could play instruments in rock bands without standing out conspicuously as Women. But I didn't really understand my place in such an audience.

So I decided to spend a nice day with the girls. I thought I'd invite my rock'n'roll buddy, Roberta "Robbie" Cruger, and a few musicians over for brunch. It's such a women's thing to do. The guest list included a purist rock'n'roll drummer in the Zantees named Miriam Linna, 22, who felt as funny about the avant-garde as I did; Adele Bertel, 23, a keyboard player of some repute in the avant-garde; and Nina Canal, 25, a guitar player from Tone Death, and a member of another avant-garde group, The Gynecologists.

Georgia: Do you feel what you're doing in avant-garde is derivative of jazz or rock or what?

Nina: Definitely rock'n'roll.

Georgia: Because of the rhythm or the sentiment or what?

Nina: Both. But it's not punk or new wave; both terms are inaccurate. People say the bands playing are not new, just early '60s over again, but there's other things going on. One of them is how many women there are.

Adele: Definitely has an influence.

Miriam: Girls were into it in the '60s. I don't think it's a progressive movement, it's regressive; one of the greatest drummers in the world was Honey Langtree of the Honeycombs, in the mid-'60s. Nobody said then, "Ew, a girl!"; they said, "Ooh, a girl!"

From left: Adele, Nina, Robbie, Georgia and Miriam talk about playing and listening to rock.

I can identify with women who don't make a big deal about being into rock'n'roll. As a first generation Beatles fan, I have the right. However, that shrug of indifference can be misleading. I also grew up with the women's movement and sometimes I tell myself that I only became a feminist because of good timing. I began writing reviews at *Creem* magazine in 1973, where I held the distinction of being the only woman on the editorial staff who'd never been the girlfriend of one of its founders. (Though when I was eventually fired for insubordination, it was suggested to me that everything could be worked out at a nearby motel.)

Georgia: The first group you were in, Miriam, The Cramps, was based on the idea that you would start from not being able to play...to learning how to play together.

Miriam: I started playing drums in November 1976. I never thought I would play; I was just an extremely ardent rock'n'roll fan. I came from Cleveland to New York to hear it, maybe start a fanzine or something. The Cramps were just a group of friends. My first thought was, "I can't do this. There hasn't been any girl drummers since Honey Langtree and she looked a lot better than me." Moe Tucker I idolized, but that was too much to ask, the legendary Moe Tucker, Velvet Underground, my God. But I just started playing and a lot of people were offensive, saying, "ew, a dyke." And so I'd say, ew to you, too. I can play drums, too.

Adele: But people would give you a lot of shit, Miriam?

Miriam: My mother, a lot: "I can't tell people you're playing drums!" She still hasn't told anyone. It's pretty wild.

Nina: Do you think there's a different sound in your band because you're a woman?

Miriam: I think, maybe, a cer-

Women who play rock have just taken up traditional male roles, right? Or have they? Four women rockers talk about rock, power, punk and dreams, over brunch.

tain sound. I don't think there's any guys who drum like I do, because I want to drum like Chuck Berry's drummer, that's all. No body drums like that. Chuck Berry's drummer never had a roll. It was always just a fast ch-ch-boom, a very danceable beat. He was a guy. You never knew who he was, Mr. X, but he was a good drummer for keeping a beat.

Adele: One of the most exciting things to me when I came to New York is that there's all these women playing in these bands. And playing original music. That never happened in Cleveland. All these women picking up instruments, experimenting with them, and learning how to play, different things will come out of them.

Miriam: Why is it so different? **Adele:** Well, because they've never done it before. It's new to women to play rock'n'roll. Women have gotten strong enough that they want to do it. It is an aggressive music; it's electric music. A lot of women seem to be afraid of that kind of sound, amplified sound, I think it's going to put a whole new look on things.

Miriam: Why would it be so different from a guy who never saw an instrument before and started to play?

Georgia: They're almost alike. The amateur wants to play, he plays in a rock band. But now the girl is the amateur. She is the new person.

Robbie: But take the Runaways. For some reason.

Adele: They've just taken over the traditional male roles. They get up there and...

Miriam: Unzip their blouses. (Everyone laughs) Well, it helps a lot. **Adele:** But it shouldn't have to help.

Robbie: But why don't they even sound like rock'n'roll musicians? I remember being very close with a group of women in Detroit that started a rock band, POW—Power of Women. It was somebody else's idea; someone tried to package them, maybe that was the problem, or maybe they were a little before their time; for some reason the Runaways, and this group—there was definitely something different, but it wasn't rock'n'roll. There was no gutsiness to it. For me, women rock musicians have never been able to make music that you'd want to dance to. **Georgia:** But I would call Patti Smith's first record gutsy.

Robbie: Definitely. But she's a singer. She's not a musician on that.

Nina: But she is the mainstay of the band.

Robbie: Sure, and she writes songs. Why is that changing, then?

Adele: Well, do the Runaways sound different from Aerosmith, or bands of that (snicker) calibre? **Robbie:** Fanny, remember Fanny? There's a better example. It didn't matter that they were playing amplified instruments. They were still playing them like acoustic ones. That's the interesting thing, to be afraid of all that. Of power.

I think if a woman's afraid of playing an electric, loud music, it affects how well she gets across. Of the three women talking, Adele appears the most confident on stage; she's also the most successful. Miriam plays drums to left field. I've yet to see her overcome her shyness and face the audience. Yet that insecurity too is sometimes riveting. Nina's performance is more anonymous than anything else; the first and only time I saw her perform I didn't even know she was a woman.

Miriam was getting uncomfortable. She was thinking that rock'n'roll was innocent and spontaneous. When Nina said that the New York bands were just "making it work by the way it sounds," she said, "That's not what it is. I don't think rock'n'roll is something you ever had to think about before doing it. It's either genius like Eddie Cochran or just makin' up songs about cars and girls. Or else being rooted so strongly in the great rockers that what you're doing is real."

Adele: Well, when I start writing music, I don't want to write about my boyfriend...

Robbie: Why?

Adele: 'Cause I don't have one.

Nina: Well, that's not true altogether.

Adele: 'Cause I don't like the situation I have to live in. I hope things will get better. There's too many creepy, ugly things going on that a lot of people are victimized by. I don't want to make slug music and be really depressed about it. I want to transcend it.

Georgia: What's slug music? That's a great expression.

Adele: Slug music to me is the state of what punk rock is into right now. Playing one chord and screaming, just noise, it's not making any point.

Georgia: Well, slug music may be punk rock like the Dead Boys as far as this table goes, but Foreigner is like Dead Boys for the people. They sell millions of records.

Robbie: I always wonder if groups like that know they're a parody.

Nina: What about the Dictators?

Miriam: I love The Dictators?

Georgia: I don't. But see, the difference is that there's some sense in which you don't take them seriously.

Miriam: Definitely.

Georgia: That's crucial to pleasure. Like, I cannot listen to "Some Girls" because I do not find it ironic that Mick Jagger thinks black girls want to fuck all night. I find it racist and sexist.

Nina and Adele: Right.

Miriam: The Dictators are from Frank Zappa and Flo and Eddie. I don't worry about them becoming the next Boston. But about the more serious music, I don't understand. The Sex Pistols did a very political thing, saying to people who sing about cars and girls that that's not today: you have to deal with society! People are jumping off buildings!—Don't you understand, it was bad in the '60s, or even the '50s. People said Elvis was this gross guy gyrating his private parts. But he didn't give a hoot about sex and madness, beat up your girlfriend. He was in a private world of teenage; adults had no access to it.

Nina: But the Sex Pistols came out of a very specific economic situation in England.

Miriam: But I come from a very lower-class background and rock'n'roll was like, when my sister got her first pair of pink tights, it was vooom, forget all this about not having any money, I got a pair of pink tights!

It sounded good. But maybe not that good. Adele said compassionately, "That bothers me, too. A lot of kids are complaining all the time. They don't have no dream world." "But what's happened," said Nina, "is a lot of people got sick of pretending, of that sweetness." Adele criticized feminist music, too, as "insipid," hiding behind the issues, patting each other on the back." Then she and Nina remembered that time Nina was in a women's band.

Nina: I did it for a short time. It was fun. But it's frightening to think about falling into the same traps as men, you know, *the women's band*.

Adele: The reversal of roles.

Nina: And how it turns out to be not any different.

Georgia Christgau is a New York free-lance writer. A different version of this article appeared in *The Village Voice*.

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Susan Springfield of the Erasers.

Short Notice



Ran Blake

Records

RAPPORT

Ran Blake (Arista/Novus)
Solo, duet and trio pieces by a little known pianist of the avant-garde. Saxophonists Ricky Ford and Anthony Braxton, and vocalists Cris Connors and Eleni Odoni add depth and warmth to Blake's spare abstractions of tone and time. Absorbing. **dr**

LOVE IS IN THE AIR

John Paul Young (Scotti Brothers Records)

Schmaltzy sentiment meets disco dreck and pop pap to produce big bucks. Absolutely awful. **bd**

"PUBLIC IMAGE"/"THE COWBOY SONG"

Public Image Ltd. (Virgin Records import single)

Here's the one we've all been waiting for—Johnny Rotten's first single with his new band, Public Image Ltd. Unfortunately, it doesn't match his best songs with the Sex Pistols. To the extent that the words are intelligible in this murky production, they are an uninspired history of the Pistols and an "I Want to Be Left Alone" lament. **bd**

LIVE—TAKE NO PRISONERS

Lou Reed (Arista)
Another strange one from the erratic leader of the late Velvet Underground. Reed's combination

of brilliance, self-indulgence and self-destructiveness is legendary and this double live album, recorded with no overdubbing, has some of each. Though there are fine versions of Reed classics like "Coney Island Baby," his baiting of the audience and rock critics, and his strange raps before and during songs are the kinds of things usually left off live albums. As a documentary of a total Reed performance, *Take No Prisoners* is unique, but the music on his earlier live album, *Rock'n'Roll Animal*, was much better. **bd**

SPITBALLS

(Beserkley/Janus)

In which the enigmatic Beserkley roster (Earth Quake, the Greg Kihn Band, Jonathan Richman, the Rubinoos, Tyla Gang) combine to form a 14-man band playing strictly rock'n'roll oldies. Each band member chooses a directly influential oldie, and the choices reveal much. Kihn's band covers the Tornadoes' "Telstar," Richman turns in a deadpan "Chapel of Love" and various Rubinoos offer early Raiders, Who and Them. **cb**

OUT-RIGHT BOLD-FACED LIES

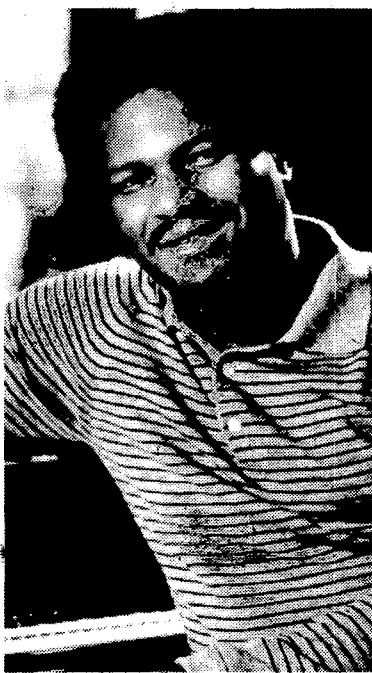
Art Thieme (Kicking Mule)
Art Thieme, a Midwest folk activist and writer, has a voice as deep and clear as Doc Watson's and a sense of humor close to U. Utah Phillips. Thieme's wonder-

ful on-stage presence comes across well in this live album. His "Joke-lore" style of storytelling is as convincing as it is funny. His choice of unusual ballads and new versions of old songs is excellent. His interpretation of Leadbelly's "Faretheewell Titanic" provides political information not often included about the song. And his discovery of "The Cowboy's Barbara Allen," a western version of a traditional British ballad, should interest folk music lovers everywhere. (Kicking Mule Records, P.O. Box 3233, Berkeley, CA 94703.) **es**

THE GREETING

McCoy Tyner (Milestone)

Since his days with John Coltrane, Tyner has preferred an unmistakable dense, orchestral piano style. While this live recording offers little new, it is a vivid introduction to Tyner's powerful acoustic jazz. Opening with a chant-like flute piece, the sextet then rolls on like a gathering



McCoy Tyner

thunderstorm, bursting into passionate flurries. Continually challenging and exhilarating. **dr**

CITY DREAMS

Michael Glick (New Morning Records)

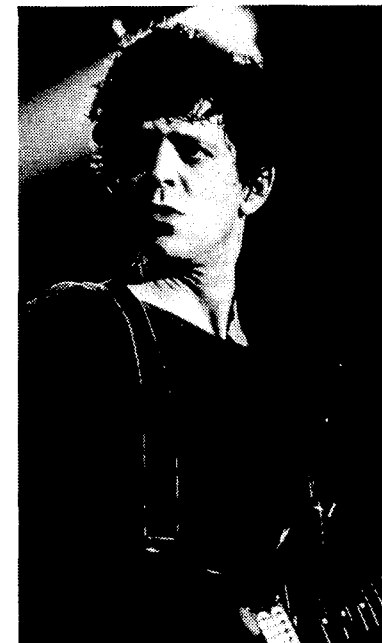
Glick is a young progressive folk-singer in the spirit of Pete Seeg-

er and Woody Guthrie, with a strong, clear voice. The cuts range from a mellow "Blues with a Feeling" to the upbeat opener, "A Worker's Song," with two songs in Spanish and a beautiful ballad of Vietnamese patriot Ho Chi Minh. A fine first album that promises a future for Michael Glick as a singer/songwriter in the new topical song movement. (New Morning Records, 641 W. 169 St., New York, NY 10032.) **cc**

DANCE OF THE SUN

Eddie Marshall (Timeless)

This subtle San Francisco drummer deserves wider recognition. His delicate power shapes and propels these sweet-toned, hard-bop flavored tunes and provides an ever-shifting backdrop for fine extended solos by fellow Bay Area stalwarts Bobby Hutcherson (vibes), George Cables (piano), James Leary (bass) and Manny Boyd (saxes). **dr**



Lou Reed

HOW LONG HAS THIS BEEN GOING ON?

Sarah Vaughan (Pablo)

"The Divine One" was voted best female singer in this year's *Downbeat* Jazz Critics Poll; this mellow album shows why, displaying her astonishing control of tone and phrasing. Side two features tasty duets with each member of her classic rhythm section—Oscar Peterson, Joe Pass, Ray Brown and Louie Bellson. **dr**

FIDELIO

L. von Beethoven (Deutsche Grammophon)

This latest (three-record) record-

ing of Beethoven's great freedom-fighting opera was released in time to celebrate the 60th birthday of conductor Leonard Bernstein. Bernstein gives the music a deeply dramatic, almost leisurely reading, and though there are points at which a more theatrical interpretation might be welcome (especially on record), the effect is genuinely impressive. Interestingly, it's the small part of Minister Don Fernando (sung by superstar Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau) that gets top billing on the cast listing; Rene



Eddie Marshall

Kollo is the Florestan, with Gundula Janowitz as Leonore-Fidelio, Lucia Popp as Marzelline, Manfred Jungwirth as Rocco, Hans Sotin as Don Pizarro and Adolf Dallapozza as Jaquino. The Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra and the Chorus from the Vienna State Opera are superb. **km**

MUSIC FOR PIANO, FOUR HANDS

Schubert (Seraphim)

On a low-priced label, from the days when music was still a participatory activity, comes this delightful disc of four pieces by Schubert played by Jacques Février and Gabriel Tacchino. Since four-hand piano (two players at one keyboard) has fallen from favor in our modern parlors, the overall feeling is nostalgic. **km**

Contributions by Bruce Dancis, Cary Baker, Derk Richardson, Karen Monson, Craig Canon, Ed Shoenfeld.

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Dec. 8
Radical History Forum
Alan Wolfe
Is America Turning Right?
7:30 p.m. John Jay College
445 W. 59th St.

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But we have a complaint.
Our toes are quite froze,
While, as everyone knows,
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burning—
Bill Burr, oh Bill Burr
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DOCUMENTARIES

Films show how jobs make you sick

Miners used to take caged canaries into the mines to warn them about the level of poison gas in the shafts. When the yellow birds stopped singing, the miners knew their lives were in danger. But there are no such simple methods to guard against the unseen dangers posed by a plethora of new products since the Second World War.

A new documentary, *Song of the Canary*, vividly records the plight of workers in the agriculture chemical industry in California who have become sterile while manufacturing pesticides containing DBCP (dibromochloropropane), and the efforts of textile workers in the Carolina cotton mills who have organized to fight the factory conditions that cause "brown lung" disease.

Filmmakers Josh Hanig (*Men's Lives*) and David Davis (*Hearts and Minds*) made this 58-minute color film, which premiered in San Francisco on Nov. 19, with grants from the Corporation for Public Broadcasting and the Film Fund. PBS stations may broadcast the film in early February. But it remains to be seen whether it will be "adapted" for television.

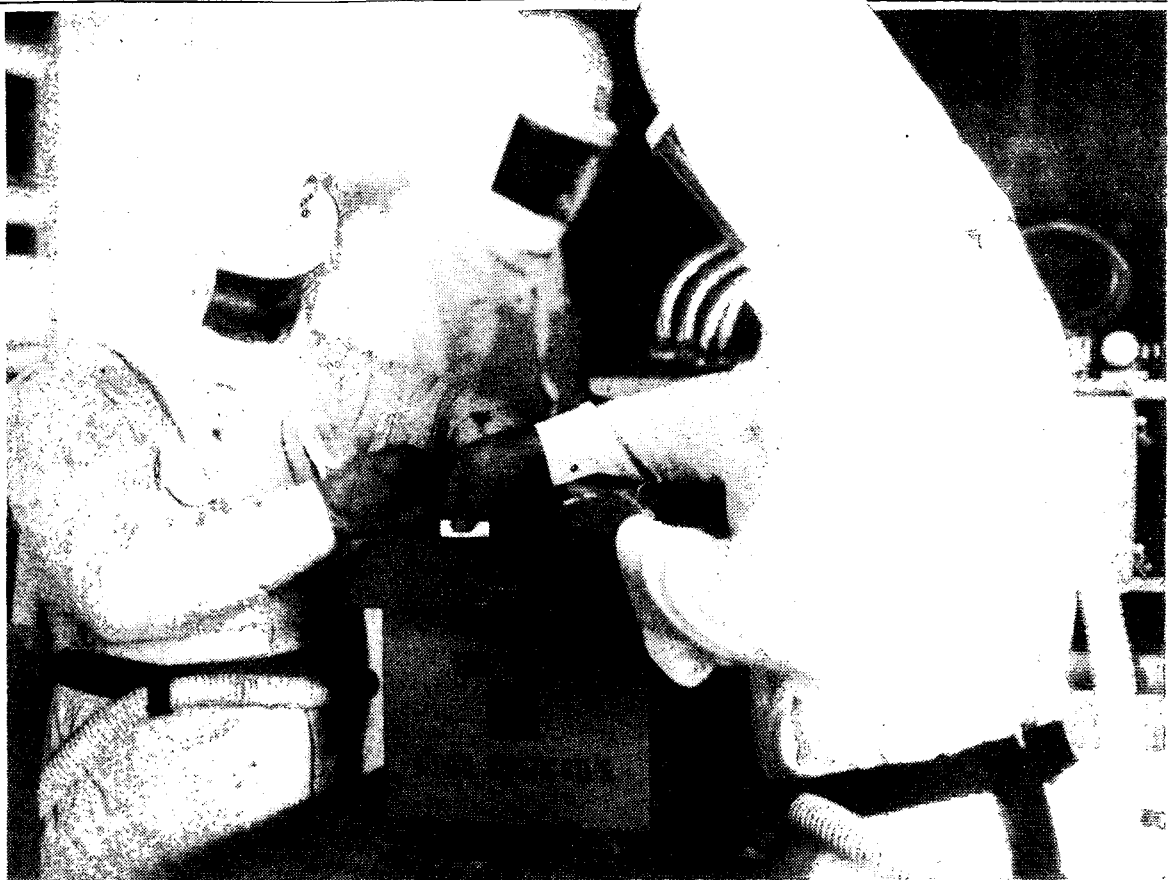
Now that the film is finished, top PBS correspondents MacNeil

and Lehrer are reviewing it "to determine if it's sound for the American public to see," Hanig explained. He doesn't anticipate any problems of censorship. "We feel we covered both sides since we talked to industry people as well."

The film lets the workers most affected speak for themselves—whether it's over a few beers at the local bar after work or in the sanctity of their living rooms flanked by their families. Their problems are real.

"A worker has to weigh the bad against the good," explains Jack Hodges of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union who works at the Occidental Chemical plant in Lathrop, Calif., the town's biggest employer. "Where else are you going to go?" His department has been dubbed the "sterility chamber" after laboratory tests in July 1977—sponsored by the film's researchers—proved that a "significant number" of workers handling the DBCP, a still widely used pesticide, were permanently sterilized. (*ITT*, Nov. 8.)

"I don't want to over-populate the world, but I did want to have two children," another Ag-Chem employee complained. "I feel cheated. They're in business to



Ag-Chem workers risk sterility for job security.

UC Occupational Health Project

Textile mills cleaned up just before the film crews arrived. One mill hung a sign that said, "Welcome, filmmakers!"

make money, regardless of my life."

Responding to public outcry, the federal Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) has lowered its "safe level" of DBCP. But as environmentalist Dr. Barry Commoner points out in the film, these petrochemicals may be harmful in any quantity since they do not naturally occur in life. "We are exposed to chemicals that living things have never been affected by before."

Experts in the textile industry have known for over 40 years that cotton dust can cause "brown lung," but not until 1975 was the Carolina Brown Lung Association formed, by stricken employees. To avoid paying compensation, company doctors had previously told them they had asthma.

The film shows victims mobilizing to fight the hazardous health conditions of their mills. One shot depicts an old man in a wheel chair holding a placard that reads: "J.P. Stevens took my breath away! And now the Clothing and Textile Workers Union are helping the Association win it back."

To expose how filthy actual conditions were in the factories was difficult, Hanig conceded, since the owners invariably knew the film crew was coming. Outside one mill hung a sign that said, "Welcome, Film-makers!" But a cameraperson managed to get off a quick shot from the hip as a dusty brown heap of discarded cotton was swept away.

Some employees in non-union plants were afraid to be questioned. Others feared that too much government regulation would induce companies to relocate. "Companies are never held accountable for the communities they're in," Hanig said.

The documentary is broken into two distinct segments, the Ag-Chem and textile workers, to separate the film into different sections for organizational use. I see no reason to divide the issue by dividing the film, though, since it is otherwise very well paced and flows smoothly.

Hanig recently took *Song of the Canary* back to Lathrop, Cal., to show it at the union's Nov-

ember meeting. "Almost everybody who was in it got to see it," Hanig related. "The directors of the union (Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 1-5) were really excited. They're going to show it to the regional meeting." So far three prints have been ordered.

Having funding difficulties is another film about on-the-job safety, *Working for Your Life*, directed by Ken Light (*Working Steel*) and Andrea Hricko, both associated with the Labor Occupational Health Program (LOHP) at the University of California in Berkeley.

"It shows women working in all kinds of jobs, unlike *Harlan County* or *Salt of the Earth*," Light explained. While concentrating on the problems of hospital, clerical and electronic workers, the film covers occupations from women bus drivers to blast furnace operators. A lot of jobs that women have held were thought of as traditionally being safe, such as flight attendants," Light said. "We're finding that they're not."

Hricko and Light need to raise another \$20,000 to take it to the release print, after receiving initial money from LOHP, the Film Fund (founded by Barbara Kopple and others), and the Woody Guthrie Foundation. They too seek support from organized labor through an extensive mailing campaign. And a film account has been set up at the University of California at Berkeley to enable LOHP to accept tax-deductible contributions for the *Working for Your Life* project.

If a recent experience at a PBS station is any guide, the film's information is much needed. When Light and Hricko approached the station for financial backing, the response was, "Who cares about women? We'd have to show it in the afternoon."

—Spencer Rumsey
To rent *Song of the Canary* write P.O. Box 315, Franklin Lakes, NJ 07417. For information on *Working for Your Life*, write 2521 Channing Way, Berkeley, CA 94720.

Spencer Rumsey is a free-lance writer in San Francisco.

Harmony of a Last Song Poem of a rent strike

This poem was written to be sung, whispered, fiercely shouted into the ears of Keith Heller and Gloria Segal and of all the myrmidons of University Community Properties, Inc., to preserve Minneapolis' West Bank community from destruction by bulldozers and bad dollars.

The drum
The drumbeat
The drumbeat of the foot
The drumbeat of the footpath
The drumbeat of the footpath trodden
The drumbeat of the footpath trodden by horses
and men
has stopped.

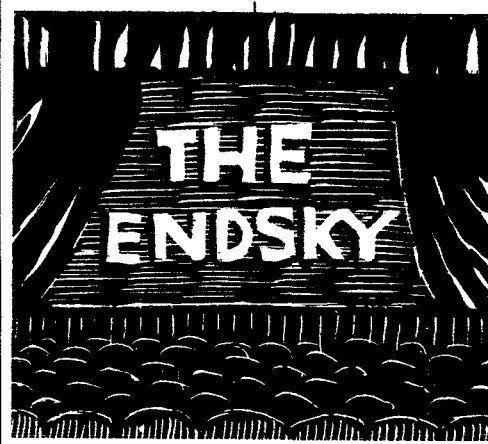
Now the last
skyscraper
has been erected
and stands
like a lonely tooth
decaying
in the mouth of the sky.
The songs of the million
cicadas
also
are hushed.

Evasive as ever
all these tiny beasts
and every one of their allies
have given away the last
of their green colors
to the clouds
and to the sky.

Each delicate insect claw
silently is turning a key
in one of the dark locks
of the last concrete door.

—Geoffrey Gardner

CULTURE SHOCK



Tom Greenfelder

BUSINESS IS BUSINESS

Faced with low box office returns after they rented theaters in India to show their export films, the Soviets have solved the problem: they show Hollywood films to make up their losses.

HEH HEH

Awarded by the NY Financial Writers in a roasting session for Best Recalls of 1978, Henry Ford and (Firestone chairman) Richard Riley obligingly sang, to the tune of "Feelings," "Gas tanks, blowing

on the highway/ Please try not to tailgate/Those Pintos of mine/Blowouts, nightmares over blowouts..."

THE BEST OF EVERYTHING?

Saudi Arabia just bought for national television one of the most popular kiddie shows internationally: *Romper Room*.

IT STOPS WHERE?

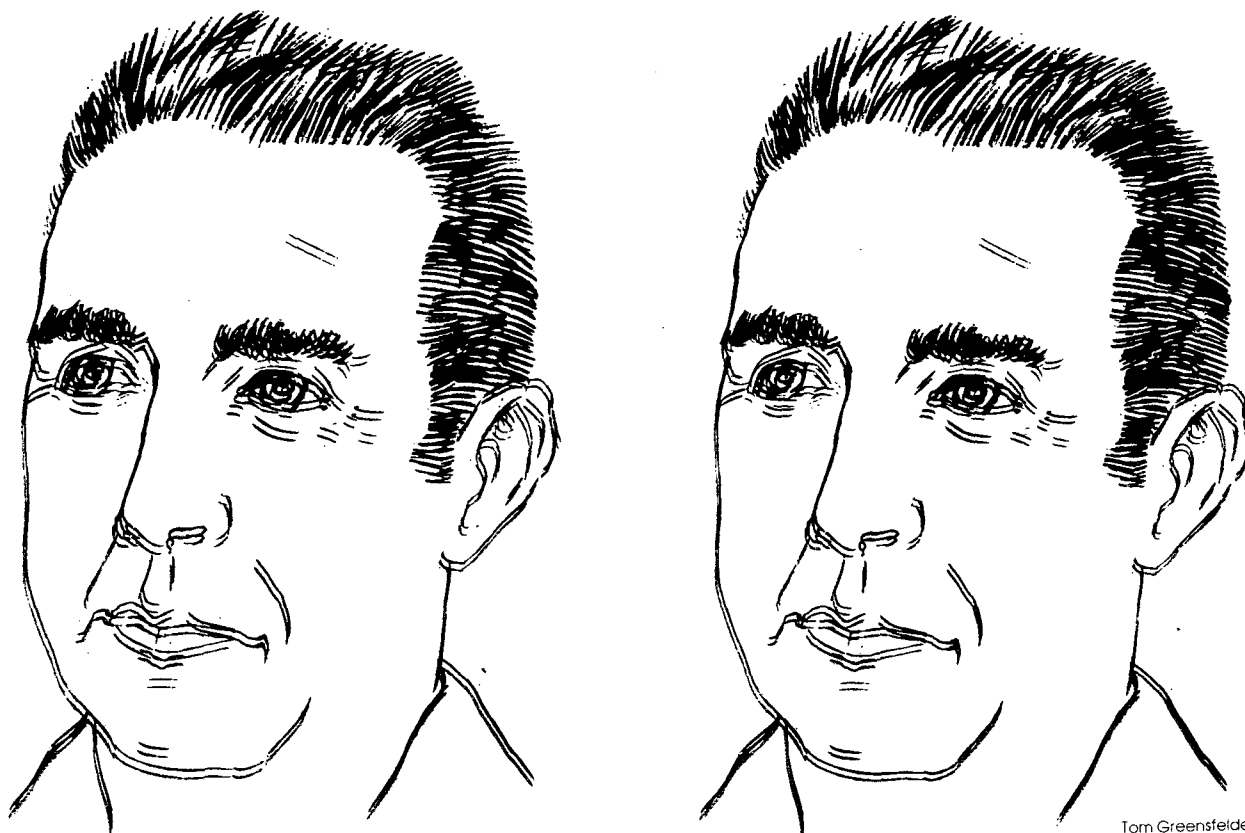
Taxpayers put into business a disco two blocks away from the White House (by day it's an employee cafeteria). It's called, of course, The Buck Stops Here.

DOUBLE AGENT

Nicolas Sirgado spent ten years inside the CIA

as a double agent. His work helped Fidel

Castro survive several CIA assassination plots.



Tom Greensfelder

Three years after Fidel Castro walked triumphantly into Havana, Cuba's new internal security agency gave Nicolas Sirgado Ros an assignment—infiltrate the Central Intelligence Agency.

In his last meeting with CIA officers in 1976, his task completed, Sirgado was given a congratulatory letter and a gold watch from Henry Kissinger.

The Rolex was genuine.

The information Sirgado had fed the CIA for ten years was not.

Castro has said there have been at least 20 assassination attempts on his life since 1959, most with the clear participation of the CIA. After the October 1976 sabotage of a Cubana Airline plane that killed 73 people, Castro announced that it was a double agent—Sirgado—that had kept his government informed of many of the attempts.

In an interview with *Covert Action Information Bulletin* at Havana in August, Sirgado said his job was to find out the "how, who, what and when" of assassination plots.

His last message to the CIA came late in the wake of, according to Sirgado, CIA-led terrorist activity against the Cuban airline offices in Colombia and Panama as well as the Cuban diplomatic mission in Portugal and the Cuban consulate in Mexico.

While CORU, the counter revolutionary group bankrolled by the CIA, continued its attacks, Sirgado's CIA contacts stepped up their surveillance of Castro.

"A new plot was being hatched to assassinate [Castro]," Sirgado said, probably in Angola, where Castro was to visit on Nov. 11. He said the U.S. espionage agency wanted to know "the exact itinerary of Fidel's alleged trip."

Over the years, Sirgado said the CIA had repeatedly asked for information about Castro's "health, the doctors responsible for it, his state of mind, the moves he made and the routes he took, what worries he might have."

Sirgado said he had been working on the inside of counter revolutionary organizations with individuals who have since left Cuba when he was given his decade long assignment.

"The actual direct contact with the CIA was achieved at the end of 1966, after years of patient preparatory work," he said.

"When the CIA recruited me in London, my cover work in Cuba was as general director of supplies for the Ministry of Construction, headed at that time by Comrade Osmani Cienfuegos.

"I received a call from the alleged executive of a business firm we traded with, asking for an interview with me to discuss 'trade questions,'" he said.

A man calling himself Harold Bensen met with Sirgado at a hotel, admitting that he was a U.S. Army colonel with the CIA.

"Shortly after the conversation began, he showed me a photo of my children to prove that he had contacts with individuals I knew who were connected with counter-revolutionary organizations in Cuba.

"We had a long conversation and he openly and specifically asked me to collaborate with the CIA in the work it was doing against the revolution."

Part of the offer included a salary—paid in dollars and deposited in the Chase Manhattan Bank in New York. There was also a promise that he'd be able to settle in the U.S. after his stint with the spy agency.

Several more interviews in London covered CIA objectives in Cuba, along with some lessons in spy technique.

"First, they trained me in secret writing," he said. An "open" or front letter was written on special paper, then the message written invisibly over that. A special developer was used to read the message.

He was taught how to use an amateur 35mm camera to make microdots that could contain the information from maps, blueprints and other documents in the space needed to dot the letter I.

The song "You Are Always in My Heart" was one signal for a message on his spy radio. "When there was no real message, they immediately played 'Pomp and Circumstance'" he said.

But the CIA could also use this technological bag of dirty tricks against its agents.

Without elaborating on how, Sirgado said he beat three lie detector tests—sessions more than two and a half hours long.

"Clearly, the CIA's aim in using this method is not so much to find out whether or not you're lying as to break you down, humiliate you, impose machine over mind," Sirgado said his hotel rooms were

bugged, along with other surveillance techniques.

"Exporting revolution"—a catchall phrase for anti-Castro sentiment in the U.S.—became a key concern to the CIA.

"They sought, by every means possible, to prove that Cubans directly and materially promote subversion on this continent," he said. "They asked me about the general opinion among revolutionary leaders concerning others heads of government in Latin America and the Caribbean.

"I remember when Gen. Omar Torrijos' visit to Cuba was announced, that they wanted to find out what the leaders of the revolution thought about him," Sirgado said of the Panamanian leader. "They also asked for economic information. They were particularly interested in information about both sugar and nickel—anything that could be obtained on those two items."

Referring to CIA agent Mike Ackerman, Sirgado said, "I remember very well that Mike once said that the U.S. government had to exert its influence on the sugar market, to make prices drop. Realizing the importance of sugar to our economy, they thought a price decrease would be another blow to the Cuban revolution. According to Mike, this was another form of fighting communism, especially Castro communism."

Castro has mentioned the continuing need for double agents like Sirgado, and in an interview with ABC-TV's Barbara Walters in 1977, had a few words about CIA attempts "fighting Castro communism."

Recalling an attempt on his life in Chile in 1971, Castro said, "They had rifles with telescopes, machine guns, all that, and they also took a TV camera and connected a weapon inside it. It was even in front of me, the way this camera is in front of me now."

"And now, at this very moment, I have no proof that the CIA has stopped its plans. I have not received a CIA message telling me that the plans have stopped, nor have we received any excuse from the U.S. government for the fact that that country's officials have been preparing the plans to assassinate the leaders of the revolution for more than ten years," he said.

This article is based on an interview with Nicolas Sirgado R. in Covert Action Information Bulletin.